

# **Across Space and Time**

**Architecture and the  
Politics of Modernity**

**Patrick Haughey**  
editor

# **Across Space and Time**



# Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

# **Across Space and Time**

**Architecture and the  
Politics of Modernity**

**Patrick Haughey**  
editor

 **Routledge**  
Taylor & Francis Group  
LONDON AND NEW YORK



First published 2017 by Transaction Publishers

Published 2017 by Routledge  
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN  
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017, USA

*Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business*

Copyright © 2017 by Taylor & Francis.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Notice:

Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

Library of Congress Catalog Number: 2016027288

#### Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Haughey, Patrick, editor.

Title: Across space and time : architecture and the politics of modernity / Patrick Haughey, editor.

Other titles: Across space and time (Transaction Publishers)

Description: New Brunswick, New Jersey : Transaction Publishers, 2016. | Includes index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2016027288 (print) | LCCN 2016027709 (ebook) | ISBN 9781412863391 (hardcover) | ISBN 9781412863629

Subjects: LCSH: Architecture and society--History--20th century. | Architecture and society--History--21st century.

Classification: LCC NA2543.S6 A29 2016 (print) | LCC NA2543.S6 (ebook) | DDC 720.1/03--dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2016027288>

ISBN 13: 978-1-4128-6339-1 (hbk)

# Contents

Acknowledgments	vii
Introduction <i>Patrick Haughey</i>	ix
1 Identity Tectonics: Contested Modernities of Java and Bali <i>Robert Cowherd</i>	1
2 Carceral Capital: The Prison Industrial Complex in Colonial India <i>Mira Rai Waits</i>	19
3 The City as Business Plan: Baťa from Batangar to the Calcutta Riverside <i>Markéta Březovská</i>	47
4 Sir John Summerson and the Art of Modern Storytelling: Radio, Architecture, and Democratic Culture <i>Shundana Yusuf</i>	79
5 Drawing Out a Modern Point of View: Projecting Architecture through Simultaneity, Abstraction, Dissection, and Montage <i>Hilary Bryon</i>	107
6 A Found “Desert” and an Imagined “Garden”: Modernity, Landscapes, and Architecture in Southern Georgia’s Longleaf Pine Forest, 1865–1920 <i>Mark V. Wetherington</i>	123
7 “Houses Will Be Built Everywhere”: Modernity and Urban Space in the Press, Minas Gerais, Brazil, 1884–1914 <i>James William Goodwin Junior</i>	143

8	Le Corbusier, Architecture, and Eugenics: From France to Brazil and Back <i>Fabiola López-Durán and Nikki Moore</i>	159
9	Expressions of Political Power: <i>Case del fascio</i> , Modernism, and Vernacular Traditions <i>Lucy Maulsby</i>	175
10	Zoning and the Controlled Space of Modernity <i>Matthew Heins</i>	193
11	Held in Suspension: Competing Discourses on Urban Modernity in 1960s Slovenia, Yugoslavia <i>Veronica E. Aplenc</i>	207
12	The Triconch and <i>Stibadium</i> in Late Roman and Early Christian Architecture: A Consideration of Assertions of Modernity <i>Lynda Mulvin</i>	233
13	When Art History Was Global: Helen Gardner's <i>Art through the Ages</i> in 1948 <i>Barbara Jaffee</i>	253
14	The Politics of Architecture and History in the Anthropocene <i>Patrick Haughey</i>	269
	Contributors	291
	Index	297

# Acknowledgments

A book like this owes its existence to many people. First and foremost, I have to thank my wife. We have been through more than two years of cancer, and she has always been strong. She is the best of everything in my life. Without her I cannot be who I am. For all of my work I am extremely grateful to my family and friends who with an abundance of patience both challenge and support me.

I must thank my codirector of the Eighth Savannah Symposium, “Modernities Across Time and Space” in 2013 that inspired this volume, and Professor E. G. Daves Rossell for his tireless commitment to the discipline of architectural history and to our community. I also have to thank my colleagues in the Department of Architecture History for their support, especially my chair Robin Williams. The Savannah Symposium is a vital biannual gathering of scholars from the Department of Architecture History. Of course, the Savannah Symposium would not be possible without the support of Savannah College of Art and Design and the help of some very important people, including President Paula Wallace and the dean of the School of Building Arts, Christian Sotile. As always, behind the scenes of the symposium and our department are some very special people including, among many, Marilyn Armstrong, Sandra Hatteberg, Susan Richards, and Alice Eisner, as well as our dedicated students.

I would also like to thank the people at Transaction Publishers, especially President Mary E. Curtis, Jeffrey Sachs, Mindy Waizer, Andrew McIntosh and the editing team. Without excellent editors and publishers like Transaction dedicated to scholarship, the world would be a darker place.

A project like this is also the result of a lifelong respect for education and love for history among authors, publishers, teachers, and students. Each of the authors here has taken their own path to the present, dedicated to life, scholarship, and teaching. I thank all the authors whose contributions made this volume, for their dedication, timeliness, and perseverance. And special thanks to Markéta Březovská for agreeing to be part of this project at such late notice. It is important that readers, scholars, schools, and publishers stand up to what seems to be an endless assault against education and humanity itself. I am grateful to all the teachers in my past who have left their mark. I owe particular debt of gratitude to the keynote speaker of the Eighth Symposium,



my mentor and friend Mark Jarzombek, for his support over many years, as well as to Robert Cowherd, without whom I would be a very different scholar and human being. In addition, I must thank Robert Cowherd, Shundana Yusuf, and Lucy Maulsby who played an enormous role in helping shape this book's proposal. In that spirit, this book is dedicated to my amazing students, whose passion, insight, and trust have always kept me inspired. Any and all errors or misunderstandings of the authors contributions are of course my own doing.

# Introduction

*Patrick Haughey*

*The growing discrepancy between the promises of modernisation and the actual outcomes experienced is largely produced by a set of unexpected side effects of the modern project. These secondary consequences of technological progress, rather than being minor inconveniences, have proven resistant to further “technological fixes.” Instead they have grown in significance to such an extent that they are unacceptable to a growing segment of humanity. While some unpredictable outcomes have yielded to further efforts, or proven manageable over time, others have come to loom so large over the human condition that it is increasingly difficult to avoid a re-examination of our core faith in modernisation itself. Unfortunately, denial remains a popular alternative to facing these challenges head-on. As Jared Diamond and others have shown through histories of social “collapse,” human societies are capable of ignoring evidence of the cliff up ahead and just keep on running.*  
—Robert Cowherd<sup>1</sup>

The architectural history of modernity and all of human habitation is unstable. Indeed, we must continually rethink how humanity and its interventions transform space over time. Sites of architecture are inhabited over time by human beings. Their cosmological beliefs, languages, politics, social structures, and environmental influences are in constant flux. In many cases, they leave physical traces in the landscape through architecture. These remnants allow architectural history as a discipline and a way of looking at and thinking about the world to exist. As geographer Simon Springer notes, “social transformation is, of course, necessarily a spatial project, and a spatial dimension to the effective critique of existing structures is an important element of imagining and forging spaces for new ones.”<sup>2</sup>

*Across Time and Space: Architecture and the Politics Modernity* is a collective effort to think about architecture and its history, by focusing on how modernity has been defined around the world. The theoretical structure of this volume was influenced by Ferdinand Braudel’s disciple and historian,

K. N. Chaudhuri. Chaudhuri insists that it is in space and time that the problems of history are most thoughtfully discovered. For Chaudhuri, the problem of discovering actual dividing lines between Europe, Asia, and Africa or between the Indian Ocean and the Pacific “disappears at the level of physical space.” He continues, “Historical action must take place in a physical domain but its manifestations are measured against temporal ruptures perceived in the mental domain as past, present, and future.” Further, “all comparisons fall into three categories: those which are thresholds of time, those which compare different units of space, and those which evaluate purely qualitative inequalities, as for example, the differences between physical sensations and abstract concepts, social structures, religious and moral systems.”<sup>3</sup> In other words, while the ruptures of modernity are neither universal, nor are they unique in world history, they can be located in space and time as architecture.

*Across Space and Time* is composed of contributions from a diverse group of emerging and established scholars from architecture history and art history. Each brings their expertise to bear on a particular site in global history where modernity was defined, challenged, or re-interpreted through shifting political and social moments around the world. Inspired by the 2013 8th Savannah Symposium, “Modernities Across Time and Space,” this volume examines how cities and architectures, landscapes, and art in space and time influence and are influenced by conflicts between local and global cultural, economic, technological, and political forces. According to Springer, “the inseparability of space and time entails a further recognition that places should be thought of as moments, where amalgamations of things, ideas, and memories coalesce out of our embodied experiences and the physical environments in which they occur to form the contours of place.”<sup>4</sup> Therefore the scholarship in this book explores the history of modernity through its diverse locations as well as through different mediums of representation around the world in order to challenge the idea of modernity as primarily Western or chronologically recent, particularly within the pedagogies of art and architecture. The authors in this volume demonstrate that the experience of modernity is neither distributed homogeneously within geographic or national boundaries nor is it sequentially ordered in sharply defined periods of time.

Architecture, far from evolving over time based upon a carefully edited narrative of authorship and style, is the product of economic and political systems that emerge within the context of unique cultural conflicts in a particular space and time. Yet modernity and its aesthetics usually emerge in architectural history textbooks and survey courses sometime between the middle of the eighteenth century and the early twentieth century, in Western Europe. We must remember that many of the archeological investigations of our shared past and the very creation of the Western ascendance model of art and architecture history take place within the context of war, capitalism, and colonial imperialism. For historian Jorge Canazares-Esguerra, the West has

a bizarre location: “In the age of globalization where universities encourage students to take courses on Latin America to gain exposure to ‘Non-western’ peoples, I assume that the tradition that locates the ‘West’ somewhere adjacent to the North Atlantic is amusingly pompous.”<sup>5</sup>

The authors of *Across Space and Time* seek to reinforce this postcolonial critique in order to provide well-researched histories to challenge many of the prevailing myths of modernity. The first chapter begins precisely in the most canonical moment in the mid-1920s, the moment that gave birth to the iconic “modernist” architectures of the Bauhaus, their influential alumni, and Le Corbusier’s most famous early projects. However, in *Across Time and Space*, this moment will take place halfway around the world, in 1923 Dutch colonial Indonesia. From Gideon to Frampton to Curtis, neither in the discussion of the formational periods of modernism in the most popular textbooks, nor in the classes where students are taught architecture history is colonialism even mentioned.<sup>6</sup> Yet, the origins of the modern world we live in are embedded in colonialism. Colonialism influences the food we eat, the clothes we wear, and the very idea of market capitalism as vital to the forces of progress and development as well as the lines that define states and nation on our maps. Indeed, the Dutch arguably invented a key feature of market capitalism with the Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC) in 1602. The East India Companies allowed the Dutch to marshal the extraordinary capital in excess of their resources and population needed to not only fight of the landed monarchies of Europe, including Spain and France, but also to challenge the Portuguese, and later English in the Indian Ocean and beyond. They ruled their territories through a brutally efficient and racially violent global bureaucracy in what is now Indonesia and beyond for more than three centuries. For the Dutch as well as for all imperial systems, architecture was, and remains, a powerful means to enforce identity and political power.

The first chapter of this volume, Robert Cowherd’s “Identity Tectonics,” demonstrates the essentially hybrid nature of architectural form and debate during the late Dutch colonial period in what is now Indonesia that emerged during a 1923 meeting in the Dutch metropole of Bandung, Java, between two Dutch architects. For Cowherd, the two architects, “in common with their Modern Movement colleagues in Europe . . . understood that architecture was an essential vehicle for delivering on the promise of modernity, understood most simply as providing the greatest good for the most people. Second, this mission was all the more urgent in the context of the 1901 Dutch colonial Ethical Policy committed to reversing the centuries of brutal subjugation and bringing the indigenous populations of the Dutch East Indies into a fuller economic and political participation in colonial society. And third, that architecture would play a leading role in the emerging social, economic, and political transformation by offering an overarching vision of a hybrid cultural formation of Indo-European or ‘Indische’ architecture.”



Typical narratives of modernity and progress rely heavily on technological determinism powerfully manifested in the historical forces of industrialization, from the factory and mass production to the all-important invention of the railroad. Typical case studies from architecture history include the English mill and sites like Manchester and Waltham, New England, or the various company towns connected by the railroad across the United States. Each of these sites shares a common attribute, the use of the machine to minimize the cost of human labor in order to increase the production of goods. Yet, industrialization takes place violently throughout the colonial world of the nineteenth century. Without the short railroad connecting Boma to the falls at Leopoldville in the Congo, Leopold II of Belgium wouldn't have been able to brutally exploit his vast territories of the Belgian Congo. In British India, the largest railroad station in the world was built in Bombay in 1878, called the Victoria Station, to anchor a railroad that allowed the British to finally penetrate the interior of the vast Indian colonies. Further, to avoid the summer heat, the British built one of the highest railroads on earth, at a tremendous human cost to manage half the world from the high mountain town of Shimla in the Punjab. Parallel to the development of the factory is the development of the modern prison, again always linked to the center of the British Empire. In architecture history, the modern prison has recently become the architecture of discipline, after its "invention" by the English philosopher and prominent government critic, Jeremy Bentham after his return to England from Russia where he visited his brother Samuel who was working on the Potemkin industrial villages. Bentham commissions the architect Wiley Revely to illustrate a new more efficient model for incarceration in the pamphlet, "The Architecture of Sensation" for his now famous "Panopticon." He presented his ideas to the Parliament in order to convince them that he could save money and improve the prisoners' and guards' utility to the nation. Michel Foucault, of course, made the "Panopticon" famous to architecture historians and others, when his 1977 *Discipline and Punish* was translated into English in the 1980s.<sup>7</sup> Yet industrialization, with its railroads, factories, and prisons, occurs unevenly around the world. Chapter 2 explores these twin phenomena of industrialization far from the territory of England where the mill was born and where Bentham invented his model "Panopticon." Indeed, as Bentham's own influence reveals, the factory and the prison were often merged during the Industrial era, not for reform or penitence, but for profit. Mira Rai Waits in "Carceral Capital: The Prison Industrial Complex in Colonial India" explores the evolution of the prison as a modern building-type-turned factory for the consumer engine of British imperial mercantilism that fed the ever-growing desire for cheap fabric and other products in the ever-present "race to the bottom" search for cheap or free labor, a key component of a rapidly expanding consumer world.<sup>8</sup>

Chapter 3, Markéta Březovská's "The City as Business Plan: Bat'a from Batanagar to the Calcutta Riverside," is an excellent model of architecture

and capitalism as a world system. Her essay explores how the model Bat'a shoe factory in Ziln that inspired Le Corbusier's famous keynote at the 1933 *Congres d'International Moderne CIAM IV's* "The Athens Charter" spread around the world. Although Le Corbusier is well known from his various urban utopias to his work for the then new prime minister of India Nehru at Chandigarh, the model factory town that built shoes he used to explore his famous city of functions is not. Indeed, the only urban system he was able to directly design based on his principles is Chandigarh in the now partitioned British Raj. Chandigarh of course was Nehru's attempt to nullify the Sikh influence on politics after the Punjab and its capital Lahore, which split off into Pakistan. To avoid a civil war, and with Nehru's cabinet insisting on their conversion to Hinduism, Nehru hired Le Corbusier to build a modernist capital "devoid of tradition," to keep the Sikhs from ruling from their holy city of Amritsar to avoid the Hindu nationalism that still impacts India's politics today. By the 1930s, when Le Corbusier uses the Bat'a town as an example of urban planning, Bat'a is already the largest shoe manufacturer in the world with a large footprint outside Calcutta. What is more, West Bengal, looking to the Czech Republic as a model for independence, actually sent Nehru to visit Ziln in 1938 just before the onset of World War II. Each Bat'a factory town adapted the founder's, Tomáš Bat'a's, formal corporate idealism to local cultures. Březovská's research focuses on how a late-nineteenth-century shoe factory spread around the world, and how Bat'a's architectural strategy both influenced and was shaped by the politics of self-rule after the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and early globalization in both Europe and what will become independent India. She focuses in particular on how the factory town of Batanagar outside Calcutta was founded and transformed over time before being turned into a gentrified community as the firm shifts to a twenty-first-century emphasis on high-end property real estate from distributed manufacturing.

Meanwhile, between the 1919 Amritsar Massacre and the 1947 partition of the British Raj into Muslim Pakistan, East Pakistan (Bangladesh), and Hindu India (as well as later Myanmar and others), a new technology comes of age, the radio. Back in England, at the heart of an Empire that will begin to unravel after World War II, a new national broadcasting station is trying to find its identity. Among its most powerful voices is John Summerson, who through his voice reconnects the British to their architectural heritage, helping to invent a form of national pride, particularly under the assault of German bombs. Chapter 4, Shundana Yusuf's "Sir John Summerson and the Art of Modern Storytelling: Radio, Architecture, and Democratic Culture," notes how the "modern" audio technology of radio conveyed an understanding of architecture through the power of listening and the imagination where knowledge is not only disembodied from the site in question, the architecture is by necessity, invisible to the listener. Summerson captivated listeners with

the human behavior and social history of English architecture through radio, engaging them in the history and shape of places they could not see or touch, but rather narrating their historical moment of style, at a moment when the young BBC was trying to find its voice.

The representation of architecture, through voice and drawing, is paramount to its communicating not only a design but in how we think about architecture and its history. In chapter 5, Hillary Bryon suggests that an unfolding spirit of modernity relating to contemporary architectural space is created through the use of abstract axonometric parallel projection represented in the work of French engineer Auguste Choisy. Emerging from the new engineering school *École Polytechnique* between 1861 and 1863, Choisy through axonometric drawing creates a new history of architecture in 1898. His drawing technique not only changes the way we see and think about architecture, but also transforms the way architects present their work. According to Bryon, it is “a deliberate, rational mode of visual expression to communicate the spatio-tectonic attributes of architecture. He systematically combined emergent techniques of simultaneity, abstraction, dissection, and montage with parallel projection to re-present the buildings of history in a novel way.” His representative technique, as a montage of image progressions, evoked the issue of both abstract structure and space within one drawing and mapping that change over time, and challenged the way buildings were understood over time.<sup>9</sup> Indeed as Bryon notes in her research, Choisy’s drawings influenced some of the most prominent modernists of the early twentieth century, including, notably, Le Corbusier, who casts his shadow over several chapters in this book.

The period between 1800 and 1900 saw the population of the world double from roughly 1 billion to 2 billion due in part to industrialization, rural depopulation, more efficient food production, and new sanitary measures in the fastest growing cities. However, the economic model of growth requires forests and open space to surrender to development and urbanization. Behind the rapid growth of textile mills is the dark history of slavery. Without the vast cotton plantations across the southern United States, English and other mills would not have been able to produce their cloth as cheaply or quickly. To make room for those plantations, and to facilitate a global building boom, from war and merchant ships to instant architecture accommodating a rapidly rising and demanding consumer population, a vast forest and its inhabitants had to be erased. Mark V. Wetherington reveals that behind the story of industrialization, modernity, progress, and development is a story of destruction. Wetherington, in chapter 6, “A Found ‘Desert’ and an Imagined ‘Garden’: Modernity, Landscapes, and Architecture in Southern Georgia’s Longleaf Pine Forest, 1865–1920,” notes how the dismembering of forests for profit and development in the turn of the century was not only synonymous with the idea of civilization and progress, it was inevitable.<sup>10</sup>

Modernity and progress from the late nineteenth century through the early twentieth centuries is often painful, violent, and contested as cities adapt to new technologies such as the railroad, electricity, plumbing, and the automobile. While this scholarship is highly developed for the so-called West (Western Europe and the United States), these processes also take place, albeit unevenly, around the world. James William Goodwin Junior takes us to late-nineteenth-century Minas Gerais, Brazil, in chapter 7. Minas Gerais was the source of much of the gold with which the Portuguese colonial empire dominated the spice trade from its twin headquarters in Lisbon and on the other side of the world in Goa, India. The wealth extracted from the mines of Minas Gerais inspired the shift of the capital south from Salvador in Bahia Bay to the rapidly growing and the largest slave port in the world of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. The Rio de Janeiro to Minas Gerais axis demanded that the Portuguese colonial empire forcibly extract millions of slaves from their African colony, the Captaincy Angola, to work the mines.<sup>11</sup> When gold and silver peaked, Minas Gerais adapted to coffee, iron ore, sugar, and other tradable commodities. The wealth generated from this site built the UNSECO heritage “Baroque” masterpieces at Ouro Preto (Black Gold), and allowed the mining towns to continue to grow rapidly. One hundred years later, James Goodwin Junior, in “Houses Will Be Built Everywhere,” illustrates the need of these wealthy colonial Baroque cities to re-imagine themselves as modern urban systems at the end of the turn of the century. Despite a largely illiterate population, the wealthy elites whose power was derived from the colonial exploitation and the new newspapers were able to drive home the idea of progress looking at Western Europe and the United States, using propaganda and a careful vilification of traditional cultures all the while preserving and enhancing a system of social stratification based upon aristocracy that continues to haunt Brazil in the present.

Even after slavery was officially banned in Brazil, Rio de Janeiro, and Sao Paulo throughout the late nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, it dominated the always racially charged politics of Brazil. As the cities swelled with new inhabitants, leaders turned to Europe’s new modernists for expertise on urban form and population control. Modernism, contrary to its utopian and egalitarian myths, is more often than not deployed around the world as a form of purification, using the language of sanitation to remake increasingly crowded urban centers. In chapter 8, Fabiola López Durán and Nikki Moore explore the impact of Le Corbusier’s racism in the planning of Latin America under the rubric of eugenics, a social and biological movement aimed at the “improvement” of the human race, using heredity, genetics, and the formalized environment as its primary tools against the darker races perceived as antimodern. Among other things this led to massive segregation, the favelas, and the racial politics that continue to plague Brazil.

Politics and human behavior has always been present in the creation of architecture and urbanism, most particularly in what we have come to call



“modernism.” The so-called liberating force of early twentieth-century European modernism as the revolutionary and triumphant rational terminus of architectural history is denied within the very political moment of its arrival. Alongside the famous 1932 (Museum of Modern Art) MOMA show on the triumph of “Internationalism” over tradition, the fiction of its utopian message, itself only a brief architectural, if not political moment, fascism and modern technologies begin to inflict massive human death around the world. In chapter 9, “Expressions of Political Power: *Case del fascio*, Modernism, and Vernacular Traditions,” Lucy Maulsby illustrates how the new imperial colonial state of Italy under Mussolini embraced an imperial past through modernism’s aesthetic appeal to progressive populism with the building of not just the famous Casa del Fascio by Giuseppe Terragni, but many other similar centers, deploying a variety of methods, in order to consolidate the power of the ruling regime in a still fractured and young empire. This of course was happening at the very moment Italy joins the colonial exploitation of Africa after firebombing its way from Libya to Eritrea and Ethiopia in the very real apotheosis of the Italian Futurist dream of war as a purifier.

Indeed the myth of rationalization and modernization undergirding the planning of the gridded metropolis and its market economy that forms the beating heart of architecture and urban history is embedded in the racial politics and the efficient segregation of people through the abstraction of horizontal space. Lines on a map are arguably more effective and just as deadly as aerial bombardment in the political creation and destruction of inhabited space. Matthew Heins in chapter 10, the “Zoning and the Controlled Space of Modernity,” illustrates how zoning evolves from its German property roots into a form of city control in the United States that is as much about controlling populations as it is rationalizing or restricting the monetary use value of land. Indeed, political shifts in Europe after the onset of the Cold War left many cities struggling to maintain their identity in the face of the antitradition modernist political ethos of Communism. In chapter 11, “Held in Suspension: Competing Discourses on Urban Modernity in 1960s Slovenia, Yugoslavia,” Veronica E. Alpenc notes how the Slovenian capital of Ljubljana from the 1950s through the 1970s was reconstructed to illustrate the multifaceted nature of the modernity of urban landscapes in socialist Yugoslavia, looking east toward the influence of the Soviet union while in fact re-imagining and trying to retain some aspects of not only its own modernist traditions but also its invented folk and vernacular past.

*Across Space and Time* is not just focused on rethinking the modernity of the past two centuries, but rather challenging the Western narrative going back 2,000 years. The Han Dynasty is contemporary with the transformation of the Roman Republic into the Roman Empire, and Asoka’s Buddhist Empire in India is contemporary with the eastward spread of Hellenism after Alexander. The “world spanning” Achaemenid Empire (c. 550 BCE–330 BCE) exists alongside

the Aegean World of the so-called Classical Greeks, many of whom also inhabited the coasts of Anatolia, North Africa, Sicily, Italy, Spain, and Southern France. Indeed the iconic Parthenon of Athens is also an artifact of politics. The Athenians embezzled pooled money to rebuild a temple destroyed by the Persians instead of using that treasure to defend the city-states against the expansionist Persians. Further, the great “western” war hero of the Hellenist era, Alexander the Great, went east (not west) to the Indus River punishing the Persians, reshaping the cosmological and architectural landscape in his wake. Even the Roman Republic faced east, expanding west only just before the creation of the Empire. Indeed, after Rome was sacked multiple times the capital itself was moved east, abandoning its western provinces as Rome was constantly under threat from the migrating northern tribes.

During this transitional period, a crucial shift in Roman architecture occurs in the villa as a brief moment of economic and political stability inspires a shift in domestic eating patterns that will influence the form of the early Christian church. In chapter 12, Lynda Mulvin “explores the assertion of modernity, as applied to certain aspects of late antique architecture in the Late Roman Empire and to the communication of these forms in the early Christian period as an identifiable change of status.” For Mulvin, “modernity is used here in reference to a condition of living imposed upon individuals by the socioeconomic process of modernization. A period of economic stability across the Roman Empire during the fourth century AD led to an upsurge of prosperity, which resulted in spatial and temporal changes reflected in architecture and design.”

As mentioned earlier, the disciplines of architectural scholarship, despite their diversity of influences and scholarly approaches in recent decades, remain, in the classroom and textbooks at least, relatively unchanged since their colonial origins with a rarely questioned reliance on art historical nationalism and chronological formalism. The foremost characteristic of this in the classroom is an obsession with dates and places of origin and, of course, authors. This basic structure resists the reality and complexity of a deep and critical history derived in part from its early influence of art history’s own obsessions. Yet, throughout our time here on this planet our species, and our human predecessors, have always actively intervened in the spaces of the world to produce architecture, going back three million years and counting. This architecture, like our food, language, and other cultural artifacts, is always on the move. Unfortunately, there remains a meta-narrative of modern art and architecture history as primarily Western architecture through style, moving backward from postmodernism to international modernism and its carefully selected precedents in a relatively clockwise manner from the United States through Europe.<sup>12</sup>

Barbara Jaffee in chapter 13 of this volume, “When Art History Was Global: Helen Gardner’s *Art Through the Ages* in 1948,” agrees, yet insists that this model has actually been challenged, if intermittently even in the construction

of the survey. Jaffee notes that there was a brief and fragile pedagogical moment when one of the most popular art history textbooks, Gardner's *Art Through the Ages*, tried to be global in conception. Yet even that one version of the book itself was shaped by a particular politics of internationalism before World War II, and located in one place, a unique Chicago art school with one unique teacher whose work was significantly modified after her death. Indeed as Jaffee notes, the aftermath of World War II and a rising nationalism turned Gardner's own work into a Western ascendance brand that deviated from her earlier attempt to be more globally inclusive.

### **Fragile Pedagogies**

Unfortunately, despite volumes of scholarship to the contrary, the standard "world" architecture survey still tends to start and end at the same point it begins with the "foundational" principles of trabeated structures, likely at the millennia-old multicultural ritual site Stonehenge, then jumping east to Egypt's brief Pyramid moment, before continuing in a counterclockwise manner through "the origins of cities" in Mesopotamia, the "Classical" moment in Greece, then back and forth from Italy to France until the nineteenth century. From there the story moves from Europe to the United States and back as modernism and again through postmodernism.

These characterizations of a "universal" historical model of a shared past are often biased toward equating violence with advanced technology, leading inevitably to European domination through progress as compared to primitive, stagnant, or decadent ("non"-Western) cultures. Thus despite the attempts to reconcile this through recent multicultural relativism, they continue to justify the imperial politics of extractive domination cleverly branded as the progress that often paid for capitalist exploitations.<sup>13</sup> Even reaching back to search for the so-called origins of "civilization" is necessarily embedded in colonialism. Indeed the Mesopotamian urban origin theories were undertaken precisely when Europe dismantled the Ottoman Empire, in the early twentieth century, as well as during prior attempts to conquer the "Holy Land," as were the colonial reconstructions of Persepolis and Knossos, just to name a few.<sup>14</sup>

The Pyramid moment dominating surveys at the beginning helps mark the "dawn" of human urban civilization. Yet that is neither the beginning of human or even Egyptian history nor is it an urban intervention, as it represents a grandiose, if complex, cult of death.<sup>15</sup> Indeed the pyramids reappear prominently in the architectural canon as the French and English battle over the territory, sponsoring excavations, artifact pillage, and even an Egyptian architectural revivalism from the late eighteenth to twentieth centuries that will last until Egypt finally frees itself from European dominion in 1951.

So-called non-Western narratives have only been grafted awkwardly into this story in the past decades, but not as equal histories. It is ironic that in the story of architecture's origins, Egypt and the Middle East are "Western" and

becoming “non-Western” only with the rise of Islam. These topics are taught in token lectures, as whole continents in timeless capsules, for example, a lecture on all of the Americas south of the United States (despite its “Western” location and incredible cultural, geographical, and architectural diversity). There is one lecture on each of the oldest continually inhabited places on earth—China, India, or Africa—embedded in the Western narrative. This is despite a vast pool of scholarship that has challenged this model revealing a deep and rich history shaping global space over time in all of these massive and diverse places, and despite the fact that most of the world’s powerful regions and states, including Europe, the United States, China, and India, can all fit within the area encompassed by the entire continent of Africa.

Even within the traditional architectural canon there are sites that illustrate temporal hybridity of form, politics, and context mapped globally around the world. For example, the Mexican urban and agricultural innovations at Tenochtitlan, not to mention their violent oppression of their neighbors, is contemporary with the rise of the Medici and the “Renaissance” in Genoa, Florence, and Venice. This popular and well-known flourishing of art and architecture was of course financed by the rise of banking and currency arbitrage along the long westward path of the Muslim Spice trade from India. The remodeling of Papal Rome under Sixtus V is contemporary with the rapid expansion and formal reshaping of the highlands of Peru under the Imperial Inca that was subsequently destroyed by the evangelical colonialism that brought Christianity and the Baroque to the Americas, India, and Southeast Asia. Indeed there is a Serlio-inspired, yet locally built sixteenth-century Baroque church where the cofounder of the Jesuit order, Xavier Francis, is buried in Goa, India.<sup>16</sup> How does architectural history from the textbook, where the Baroque is explained as purely a European response to the aesthetic austerity of the Reformation, explain this or similar Baroque churches built over precolonial temples in the Americas? This church exists because the patrons of the newly remodeled Rome—the Popes Nikolaus, Sixtus, and Alexander—gave permission to the Christian monarchs of Portugal and Spain between 1452 and 1493 to convert or destroy by force non-Christians and pagans around the world, justifying the conquest of the Americas, Africa, and India in the name of God, causing a global migration and creation of an always political and imperialist deployment of a global Baroque. The virtual monopoly on the spice trade from West Africa and later the Indian Ocean paid for the grand rebuilding of Baroque Lisbon in the aftermath of its great earthquake. Indeed, Lisbon remained at the heart of a colonial empire well into the “modern” period until its territory of Angola, after a decade of brutal war, finally freed itself in 1979, and Macau was turned over to China in 1999. In the architecture and art history textbooks, there is no mention of the global postcolonial events in the aftermath of World War II, as they tend to myopically focus only on the emergence of a postmodernist aesthetic devoid, ironically, of any actual historical context. Indeed you would



be hard pressed to find any reference to Portugal or their African and Indian territories and architectures at all.

The taxonomic obsession with origin dates and authors actually fails for architecture. All architecture is built over time and through the efforts of many people under a host of complex influences. How do you date and describe the Great Mosque at Cordoba? Who is its author, the patrons, or the unknown builders? Over 500 scholarly articles have been written about this site, illustrating both the infinite complexity of the site and the endless possibilities for architectural meaning. Remnants of the mosque that still exists today were built during the Muslim conquest of Iberia in the eighth century. *Spolia* of existing Visigothic and Roman temples were used for its early columns. The mosque itself was possibly built over the remains of two or three prior sacred sites, one of which was probably the first mosque.<sup>17</sup> Over time, although the main axis to the *qibla* wall remains relatively intact, the wall itself was moved back more than once as successive Caliphs and their unknown builders expanded and embellished the space and character of the original mosque. In so doing they created an ever-greater variety of columns, arches, and spaces over the next 400 years.<sup>18</sup>

Following the conquest of Cordoba by the Christians in 1236, the Great Mosque, with its myriad additions, as far as we know, was relatively kept intact, if in disrepair, and initially used as a repository for the spoils of Castilian Christian victory. It was then cleansed by a bishop through a gesture, some water and a prayer, thus transforming the mosque into a church before any new physical interventions. The Great Mosque of Cordoba and its Cathedral insertion appear in the Western architectural canon in typical fashion when English and other “Western” scholars, using the now de rigor periodization of art historical models, broke down its development into a specific Muslim building era, followed by the construction of the Gothic cathedral inside the mosque from 1486 to 1496, which of course is only the last of 200 years of Christian intervention.

Of course, the Great Mosque has been subject to intentional additions and subtractions from its inception to long after the Christian conquest of Cordova in 1236. Indeed the Great Mosque, like its host city, was always subject to the whims of violence and war as competing Islamic and Christian rulers alike vied for control over the prominent city, until the Almohad dynasty moved the capital to Seville, building the Alcazar where the Spanish Royal family resides to this day. Seville’s mosque was completely destroyed, except for its tower. There was even a brief period after Alfonso VII conquered Toledo and Cordova in 1085 where the mosques in both cities were used as churches, possibly yet unlikely, without alteration. Cordoba’s mosque was also ransacked by the Berber invasions from North Africa during their purge of an ostensibly decadent Caliph in the twelfth century. In the aftermath of all of these events, Christian rulers and Islamic rulers alternatively attempted grand restoration

efforts in order to either purify or decontaminate the architecture, with the implicit understanding that its monumentality was crucial to the representation of Cordova's value as a city, regardless of religious affiliation.

Indeed from the thirteenth century through the sixteenth century, popes, while simultaneously authorizing the violent destruction of non-Christian peoples around the world, also occasionally granted special dispensation to pilgrims in order to encourage them to visit Cordova in order to finance the badly needed repairs to the now 500-year-old building, which of course were likely undertaken by "mudejar" craftsmen who stayed in what was now a mostly Christian Spain, prior to their permanent eviction, along with the Sephardic Jews in 1492.<sup>19</sup> Seville's Great Mosque survives only as the "La Griselda" Tower. The mosque was destroyed and replaced by a church after the Christian conquest of the city in 1246. The church was further transformed into a cathedral during the fifteenth through the seventeenth centuries as the wealth of Seville grew. Seville was the great port of what would become the Spanish Empire, from which Magellan and Columbus would later depart. The cathedral begun in 1401 on the site of the former mosque becomes arguably the largest Gothic cathedral in the world funded by the gold, silver, hides, and other treasure extracted from the Spanish Americas that arrives in Seville over the next couple of centuries. Indeed, is Lisbon a non-western site until 1156? What about Cordoba? Constantinople is "western" until 1456? Is this about geography, or race and religion?

Despite their ostensible dates of origin or later religious interventions, the Great Mosque of Cordova, the Seville Cathedral as well as the Alcazars in both cities, remain prominent and reliant for current funding through their status as tourist sites. Seville's Alcazar is still the residence of the Spanish Royal Family. Indeed, their settings in what were once among the largest cities in Europe, the intensive ongoing restoration activities, and their iconic popularity with international tourists as carefully curated UNESCO World Heritage monuments are most certainly not only modern, they are also twenty-first-century architectures *par excellence*. What is more, Lisbon, Seville, Cordoba, like the sites explored in this book, were the product of a forceful global power, built by treasure extracted to control the choke points of an ancient spice trade or newly discovered resources while engaging in the forced conversion of primitive or savage souls in the pursuit of a narrow vision of what the modern world of the era should become.

Mark Jarzombek, the keynote speaker of the symposium, and Alfred Huango argue that the reluctance to teach architecture in a global context is constrained by not only the reluctance of studio instructors, to see their students as "global" actors, but also the false split between the idea of what is modern and what is tradition.<sup>20</sup> It is important to emphasize that the design instructors in architecture schools are often more powerful than the historians; indeed often there is only one or two per department. In my experience with

academic interviews in architecture departments the architecture historian rarely has influence and is often expected to teach the students a history of exemplary architecture in order to make them better designers.<sup>21</sup> Yet historians of architecture should feel compelled to do in the survey what has already been done in scholarship, particularly since the 1980s, as the dissolution of the colonial world set in and migrants from around the world transform the cities they come to inhabit. As Kathleen James-Chakraborty asks, “What role do buildings and cities play in shaping the shifting ways in which we understand the past? How do their own histories, including changes in how they are used and even how they appear, affect our understanding of the environments we inhabit? The willingness of scholars of colonial space to consider how existing structures have been used and transformed, often long after they were originally created, has helped upend architectural history’s longstanding focus upon design intentions?”<sup>22</sup>

The final chapter in *Across Space and Time* critiques the deterministic and narrowly focused history to concentrate on the architectural impact human beings have had globally on our very ability to survive as a species in the next century. “The Politics of Architecture and History in the Anthropocene” looks back across time from the present and imminent future to ask if perhaps urbanization driven by the legacies of colonialism war and capitalism were not entirely a positive thing in our history. Using contemporary scientific research, economic analysis, urban history, and the site of Savannah, where this book was born, Patrick Haughey rethinks how we teach and think about the history of human habitation on this planet.

Ultimately we hope that the diverse approaches to modernity in *Across Space and Time: The Politics of Architecture and Modernity* is a contribution to the ongoing critique of architecture and its history, both as a discipline and within the academy where we teach to reveal a hybridity that manifests physically over time within a particular site, yet also insists that architecture is more than a style. It is a strong expression of representational power, functioning in human society over time, always embedded in the socioeconomic, political, and material realities of any given moment.

### Notes

1. Robert Cowherd, “Notes on Post-criticality: Towards an Architecture of Reflexive Modernisation,” *Footprint 4* (2009): 70.
2. Simon Springer, Anthony Ince, Jenny Pickerill, Gavin Brown, and Adam J. Barker, “Reanimating Anarchist Geographies: A New Burst of Colour,” *Antipode 44*, no. 5 (November 2012): 1593.
3. K. N. Chaudhuri. *Asia before Europe: Economy and Civilisation of the Indian Ocean from the Rise of Islam to 1750*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 19–23.
4. Simon Springer, “Violence sits in places? Cultural Practice, Neoliberal Rationalism, and Virulent Imaginative Geographies,” *Political Geography 30* (2011): 93.

5. Jorge Canizares-Esquerro, *How To Write the History of the New World: Histories, Epistemologies, and Identities in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World* (Stanford: Stanford University Press), 10.
6. Typical textbooks that many survey instructors and I (until recently) used in courses on modern architecture include Kenneth Frampton, *Modern Architecture: A Critical History*, 4th edition (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2007) or William Curtis, *Modern Architecture since 1900*, 3rd edition (London: Phaidon Press, 1996), all of which have done little to depart from earlier foundational modernism history texts such as Sigfried Gideon, *Space, Time and Architecture* (1941) or Philip Johnson and Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *The International Style: Architecture since 1922*, published at the same time of the Museum of Modern Art, New York's now famous exhibition of 1932, or Hitchcock's *Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (1958). All of these reinforce the Western-centric acontextual model of modernity as an architectural phenomenon. Only Kathleen James-Chakraborty, *Architecture since 1400* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2014) and arguably, F. D. Ching, M. M. Jarzombek, and C. Prakash, *A Global History of Architecture*, 2nd edition (Hoboken, NJ: John and Wiley and Sons, 2011), have begun to even try to take a more global focus that might be useful in the architecture survey.
7. Indeed the translation of Michel Foucault, Gilles Deleuze, and other continental "poststructuralists" emergence in graduate schools since the 1980s has made it very difficult to even write or speak the word "power" without a citation, despite the existence of power and its critique throughout human history. Moreover, the prison or other architectures of discipline is hardly the only way to read Bentham. As Jacques-Alain Miller and Richard Miller, in "Jeremy Bentham's Panoptic Device," *October* 41 (1987): 3–29 reveal, Bentham, as a dissident philosopher was also describing a type of model architecture that embodied the critique of government, rather than solely a tool of control and surveillance.
8. Mira Waits is in fact describing an aspect of "War Capitalism" within the global cotton system, a term deployed by Sven Beckert in *Empire of Cotton: A Global History* (New York: Knopf, 2014).
9. Indeed, even with today's emphasis on computer rendering, the parallax and axonometric techniques are vital to design students. In my introductory drawing classes for designers and historians, I insist students understand the techniques invented by Choisy and others to help them not only understand architecture, but also to communicate that understanding in public.
10. Mark Wetherington's chapter on the longleaf has just come home as the *New York Times* revealed that nineteenth-century Manhattan was largely built of Southern Longleaf pine, including the Brooklyn Bridge, Vivian Yee, "Salvaging a Long-Lasting Wood, and New York City's Past." *New York Times*, July 21, 2015. <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/07/22/nyregion/salvaging-a-long-lasting-wood-and-new-york-citys-past.html>.
11. See, for example, James F. Searing, *West African Slavery and Atlantic Commerce: The Senegal River Valley, 1700–1860*, African Studies Series 77 (Cambridge [England]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Charles Ralph Boxer, *The Golden Age of Brazil, 1695–1750: Growing Pains of a Colonial Society* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1962);

- Laird W. Bergad, *Slavery and the Demographic and Economic History of Minas Gerais, Brazil, 1720–1888*, Cambridge Latin American Studies (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999).
12. Sibel Bozdogan, “Architectural History in Professional Education: Reflections on the Postcolonial Challenge to the Modern Survey,” *Journal of Architectural Education* 52, no. 4 (1999): 207–15.
13. See, for example, Stella Nair, “Witnessing the In-visibility of Inca Architecture in Colonial Peru,” *Journal of the Vernacular Architecture Forum* 14 (2007): 50–65; Sibel Bozdogan, “Architectural History in Professional Education: Reflections on the Postcolonial Challenge to the Modern Survey,” *Journal of Architectural Education* 52, no. 4 (1999): 207–15; David Christian, “The Return of Universal History,” *History and Theory* 49:4 (December 2010): 6–27; and Craig A. Lockard, “The Integrating Southeast Asia into the Framework of World History: The Period before 1500,” *History Teacher* 29, no. 1 (1995): 7–35; Mary Jo Maynes and Ann Waltner, “Temporalities and Periodization in Deep History: Technology, Gender, and Benchmarks of ‘Human Development,’” *Social Science History* 36, no. 1 (2012): 59–83.
14. Rethinking this archeology has inspired recent scholarship such as Alexandra Karetsou, “Knossos after Evans: past interventions, present state and future solutions,” *British School at Athens Studies* 12 (2004): 547–55; Anna Lucia D’Agata, “The Many Lives of a Ruin: History and Metahistory of the Palace of Minos at Knossos,” *British School at Athens Studies* 18 (2010): 57–69; and Ali Mousavi, “Persepolis in Retrospect: Histories of Discovery and Archaeological Exploration at the Ruins of Ancient Parseh,” *Ars Orientalis* 32 (2002): 209–51.
15. Actual research on “the Pyramids” of Egypt has little to do with how they are taught in survey or presented in textbooks. See, for example, Maarten J. Raven, “Egyptian Concepts on the Orientation of the Human Body,” *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 91 (2005): 37–53; Robert J. Wenke, “Egypt: Origins of Complex Societies,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 18 (1989): 129–55; Fekri A. Hassan, “The Dynamics of a Riverine Civilization: A Geoarchaeological Perspective on the Nile Valley, Egypt,” *World Archaeology* 29:1 (1997): 51–74; and Ann Macy Roth, “Social Change in the Fourth Dynasty: The Spatial Organization of Pyramids, Tombs, and Cemeteries,” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 30 (1993): 33–55.
16. See, for example, Carlos de Azevedo, “The Churches of Goa,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 15.3 (1956): 3–6.
17. The Visigoths came to what is now Spain in the middle of the fifth century and divided the lands among lords in a Germanic tradition known by the Latin term *sortes gothica*. The Visigothic equivalent is roughly referred to as *landa-hlauts* or land lots, likely inspiring the Arabic name of al-Andalus. H. Helm, “Al-Andalus und Gothic Sors,” *Welt des Orients* 66 (1989): 252–63, as cited in M. Barrucand and A. Bednorz, *Moorish Architecture in Andalusia* (1992), 12–13.
18. Nuha N. N. Khoury, “The Meaning of the Great Mosque of Cordoba in the Tenth Century,” *Muqarnas* 13 (January 1, 1996): 80–98; Rogozen-Soltar, Mikaela. “Al-Andalus in Andalusia: Negotiating Moorish History and Regional Identity in Southern Spain,” *Anthropological Quarterly* 80, no. 3 (July 1, 2007): 863–86.

19. Heather Ecker, "The Great mosque of Cordoba in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *Muqarnas* (2003): 113-141. Those craftsmen spread their architectural skills to the Americas, where it remains evident in the "Baroque" churches and architectures built in the aftermath of Spanish conquest.
20. Mark Jarzombek and Alfred Huango, "Global in a Not-so-Global World," *Journal of Architecture Education* 64 (2011): 59-65.
21. Colleagues and I have faced this conflict numerous times often in our own departments or in interviews about what history is "for" to an architecture department dominated by architects versus the autonomy of architecture of history as a discipline. One could argue that we have no choice. If we are not "useful" for teaching exemplary case studies to young designers, we would not be employable at all in most universities whose revenue is often based upon provability of student employability.
22. Kathleen James-Chakraborty, "Beyond Postcolonialism: New Directions for the History of Nonwestern Architecture." *Frontiers of Architectural Research* 3, no. 1 (March 2014): 1-9.



# Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

# Identity Tectonics: Contested Modernities of Java and Bali

*Robert Cowherd*

## **The 1923 Bandung Indische Architectuur Style Debate**

On Friday evening, September 28, 1923, in the Dutch colonial city of Bandung, Java, two architects faced each other in debate before a joint meeting of the Bandung Art Society and the Royal Institute of Engineers. The two architects along with most of the audience entered the hall in rough agreement on several significant points. First, in common with their Modern Movement colleagues in Europe, they understood that architecture was an essential vehicle for delivering on the promise of modernity, understood most simply as providing the greatest good for the most people. Second, this mission was all the more urgent in the context of the 1901 Dutch colonial Ethical Policy committed to reversing the centuries of brutal subjugation and bringing the indigenous populations of the Dutch East Indies into a fuller economic and political participation in colonial society. And, third, that architecture would play a leading role in the emerging social, economic, and political transformation by offering an overarching vision of a hybrid cultural formation of Indo-European or “Indische” architecture.<sup>1</sup> At issue in the Bandung “Style Debate” was the question of what architectural language and modes of expression held the greatest capacity to realize this emerging cultural construct.

Given the prominence of Indonesia as the fourth largest country in the world, remarkably few historians have engaged its vibrant and distinct cultural histories, even in comparison with the also-underexamined histories of China and India. Despite this general condition, several dozen local and foreign scholars have examined the period of *Indische Architectuur* from 1901 to 1942 corresponding with the Ethical Policy period of the Dutch East Indies. The scope of the present work does not permit a proper treatment of the distinct contributions by this convergence of scholarship, nor even to reference every contributor to the literature of this topic.<sup>2</sup> At the risk of doing little more than paraphrase the excellent scholarship of my colleagues, the present work aspires nonetheless to perform three tasks in the service of



this collective project. First, it attempts to offer a greater specificity to our structural understanding of Javanese wood-framed buildings. Second, by drawing distinctions between multiple structural-formal typologies, it asserts a larger palette of architectural expression in alignment with a rich diversity of Javanese cosmoreligious meanings. And, third, it suggests a set of critical questions worth bringing to our appreciation of the potential for present and future modernities emerging from the cultural conditions that have been in part shaped by the earlier and ongoing critical examinations of the *Indische Architectuur* period 1901–1942. One such present modernity is examined as an example of how these questions continue to offer useful criteria for judgment.

The rough consensus among the colonial elite on and off the stage, variously acknowledged that the long-standing conventional practice of adapting neo-classical edifices to the tropical climate of Java would no longer suffice in the twentieth century. Eduard Douwes Dekker's 1860 best-selling novel *Max Havelaar, or The Coffee Auctions of the Dutch Trading Company* elevated awareness of the deplorable living conditions of indigenous populations imposed by the infamous cultivation system (*cultuurstelsel*) with the Dutch to a *cause célèbre* in Europe and progressive colonial society.<sup>3</sup> By the 1920s, Snouk Hurgronje's "Associationist Theory" offered a well-publicized rationale that offering native populations some measure of hope for improving conditions would reduce the potency of nascent independence movements emerging on multiple fronts.<sup>4</sup> Housing assistance and land reforms were useful in this context in promising to incrementally improve the welfare of local indigenous communities living in urban and rural village enclaves called *kampung*.<sup>5</sup> Indigenous and overseas Asian *kampung* enclaves were brought into the scope of municipal governance for the first time only in the early twentieth-century decentralization legislation.<sup>6</sup> The task of architecture was to offer the larger system of symbols and formal expressions with which to frame these reforms and constitute them together with a set of new cultural reference points against which to contrast the former conditions of suffering born of colonial oppression.

Six months prior to the staging of the Bandung "Style Debate," the patriarch of Dutch architecture, Hendrik Petrus Berlage, made a long-anticipated journey to the Dutch East Indies. During and after his experience in colonial Java, Berlage spoke emphatically on the necessity of the marriage between "universal truth" discovered in the West and the spiritual essence embedded in the Javanese landscape and people. The implication of such a marriage was a well-established reference point in colonial society. The sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Dutch mercantile fortress port town of Batavia (now Jakarta) was deemed too hostile an environment for European women yielding an ever-expanding class of mixed-blood "Indos," admired across racial lines for exhibiting an uncommon physical beauty.<sup>7</sup> The overtly Darwinian racial terms of reference were central features of the popular portrayal of "Indische" architecture and other similarly hybrid cultural manifestations. Berlage was

moved by the products of this interracial marriage already transforming the larger cities of Java and spoke of such a marriage as capable of producing a superb architecture greater than either ancestral line and beyond what would seem possible given the colonial condition out of which it is born.<sup>8</sup>

Berlage's message resonated with that of his mentor back in Zurich, Gottfried Semper, who observed that the late-nineteenth-century "mode of life" required new forms brought about by "genetic recombinations of old ones." Semper's interracial advancement, albeit biased toward European "rational traits," was one in which "a version of natural adaptation was crossbred with an idea of historical progress."<sup>9</sup> In Java the counterpoint to a European "historical progress" was an intrinsic *onuitsprekelijke*, or "ineffable essence" of indigenous Java.<sup>10</sup> Berlage's interpretations of the fledgling *Indische Architectuur* resonated with the emergence of the "Amsterdam School" seen more clearly than anywhere else in the building, between 1917 and 1925, out of his design for the southward expansion of Amsterdam, Berlage's 1914 *Plan Zuid*. In both contexts, the marriage and subsequent procreation was consecrated in the presence of an Arts and Crafts sensibility heavily influenced by the early work of Frank Lloyd Wright. Wright's work is the aesthetic spark that ignited a dozen or more distinct design movements in Europe distinguishing themselves in diverse, and eventually competing, directions.<sup>11</sup> The visions for a future architecture brought into opposition on either side of the stage in Bandung came down to contrasting systems of tectonic expression both justified in part by reference to Wright's pioneering work.

Defending the "great civilization" argument, architect and professor C. P. Wolff Schoemaker paraded a long and venerable retinue of European observers, each offering a more withering condemnation of Javanese building practices than the last. The only traces of "architecture" worthy of the name, as the argument goes, are the stone ruins of the "great civilization" temple complexes of Borobudur (nineteenth century, Buddhist), Prambanan (ninth century, Hindu), Dieng (eighth century, Hindu), and several other smaller sites associated with the pre-Islamic periods of Javanese kingship.<sup>12</sup> The conventional wisdom at the time held that Java had been previously "colonized" by Hindu trading powers. A certain spirit of reciprocity is unmistakable in the proposal that the second "great civilization" to colonize Java, the Dutch, should pay due homage to the first. Schoemaker concluded by declaring that other than these foreign insertions, "architecture in the sense that it has for us does not exist in Java."<sup>13</sup> Great cultural manifestations are, if nothing else, legible. That which is illegible is dismissed, or acknowledged only as part of the "inscrutable" world of the native.

Countering Schoemaker, Henri Maclaine Pont granted the greatness of the stone monuments of Java but extended his appreciation to the content of the *bas relief* illustrations of Buddha's life and teachings encrusting the lower tiers of Borobudur.<sup>14</sup> These exhibited a variety of wooden pavilions of obvious

spiritual import. The simple pavilions were recognizable to anyone who had explored the villages, towns, and palaces around Java, then as now. Pont's appearance on stage in Bandung that evening followed the recent completion of a three-year assignment as a technical inspector for the Dutch Colonial Public Health Service in Java and Sumatra. By comparing the architectural depictions of Borobudur with the structures he found elsewhere in the archipelago, Pont speculated that an interrelated "Greater Sunda" tradition connects together the diversity of bamboo and wooden structural methods and forms constituting a "greatness" worthy of further architectural exploration and development.<sup>15</sup> It is through such investigative effort that we gain a greater appreciation of the "other" even if there ever remains some "ineffable" essence forever beyond the gaze of modern rationality.

Facing the inescapable necessity of a marriage between East and West, Schoemaker pointed to the menu of "great civilization" alternatives, including Indian, Chinese, and Mayan. His preference, given the prior examples of successful Hindu-Javanese unions, was for the Indian motifs to be applied to suitable modern new structures. In a clear demonstration of his intentions, his 1929 Preanger Hotel at the center of Bandung's business district deploys a modified Mayan motif to a low structure closely emulating Frank Lloyd Wright's 1914 Imperial Hotel in Tokyo (figure 1.1). In the context of a downtown commercial district that was turning increasingly toward the European Art Deco, Schoemaker's addition to the urban landscape stands as a polemical statement in favor of more overt expression of cultural marriage between the Mayan and modernity. This dramatic statement all the more clearly emphasizes how adamantly he insisted that Javanese cultural expression was unsuitable for the job. Schoemaker has been dubbed "The Frank Lloyd Wright of Java" and also, in a dramatic change of heart, as one of the most successful architectural interpreters of indigenous Javanese and Sundanese sensibilities in suitable modern forms.<sup>16</sup>

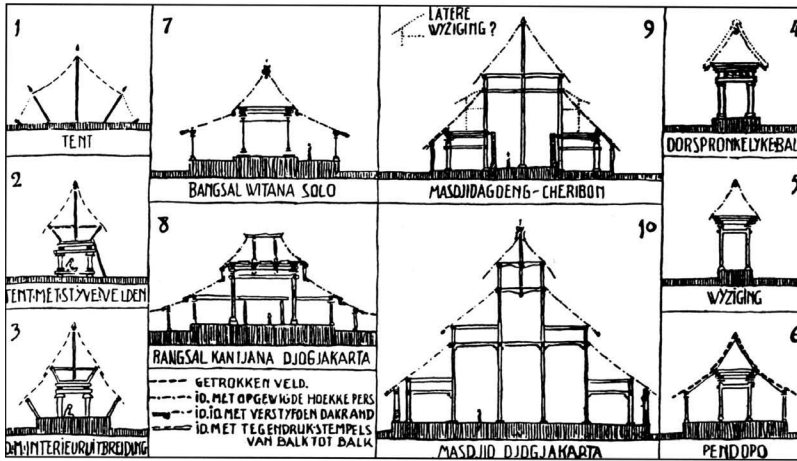


**Figure 1.1.** C. P. Wolff Schoemaker's 1929 Preanger Hotel, Bandung (PD).

Pont, in contrast, was unfazed by the challenge of the marriage between East and West either in his professional life or in his personal as he was married to a Javanese woman. This relationship provided a window into the world of Javanese culture filled with its own interpretation of Indian and Chinese “great civilization” manifestations. This was particularly clear in his lifelong passion for the Javanese classical gamelan orchestra and the millennia-old traditions of Wayang shadow theater depicting epic all-night productions of a Javanized Mahabarata and Ramayana literature. Throughout his life of exploration, he was continuously spurred on by the faith that there were deeper “ineffable” meanings to be found in a richly layered universe of Javanese culture. What remained inscrutable to Schoemaker presented a welcome challenge of architectural translation of the ineffable to Pont.

Schoemaker attacked Pont’s Greater Sunda tradition on formal grounds borrowed from the then-popular pseudoscience of “phrenology.” Just as one could judge a person’s character from the profile of their face and skull, the value of a building was similarly on display in the contours of its form. He presented the sectional profiles of the great stone monuments making the case that the stone forms of Borobudur and Prambanan exuded all the formal characteristics of nobility. In contrast, the wooden buildings of Pont’s Greater Sunda tradition demonstrated a formal inferiority indicative of low breeding.<sup>17</sup> One need only look at the primitive understanding of rafters displayed throughout Javanese buildings. By laying the rectangular section wood rafters in the horizontal disposition, Javanese roofs often lack sufficient stiffness. The result is that they sometimes sag under their own weight. Anyone who has ever bent or broken a ruler or yard stick is familiar with the fact that one direction is stiffer than the other. The more technical quantification of stiffness tells us that the depth of a beam makes a disproportionately larger contribution to stiffness than does the width. Schoemaker makes the error of presuming that without the scientifically derived engineering formula for quantifying stiffness, the greater efficacy of standing a beam in a vertical position remains beyond one’s grasp.<sup>18</sup> The roof deflection was taken as evidence of decadence and lack of rationality. The one good thing about a Javanese building, according to Schoemaker, was that its premature sagging anticipated a rapid collapse to the ground where it would quickly decay and disappear into the jungle out of which it came.

Schoemaker and Pont were both graduates of the Technical University of Delft, thus sharing a thorough understanding of structure in the Dutch tradition of training architects as engineers. Schoemaker had hit upon a point to which Pont had devoted careful study. Pont’s results were published that same year in two parts in the cultural journal *Djawa* (figure 1.2).<sup>19</sup> At the center of his hypothesis was a structural interpretation of Javanese wood-frame captured in a series of architectural sections cut through selected examples of Javanese wood-frame buildings. The first drawing in the series shows the sagging fabric



**Figure 1.2.** Henri Maclaine Pont's 1923 "Structural Analysis" published as "Javaansche Architectuur," *Djawa* 3 & 4 (1923, 1924).

of a tent roof partially tightened by the weight of its outward slanting tent poles. Using dotted lines, Pont shows the dynamic interaction between the loads imposed by the lower structural elements and the dynamic response expressed in the shifting form of the upper roof. The first six diagrams depict typical examples. The final four sections show specific buildings in the three most prominent royal capital cities on the island of Java. Just as the tent roof is pulled tight by the weight of the tent poles, so too does the weight of the lower structure pull the sag out of the deflecting rafters of the upper roofs. This is particularly clear in the "hanging" roof types (*atap gantung*) shown as having structurally reinforced roof eaves (*versteyfoen dakrand*) from which to hang the lower roofs in diagram 7 of Bangsal Witana Solo (Surakarta), and diagram 8 of Bangsal Kanijana Djogjakarta (Jogjakarta).

### The Tectonics of Socioreligious Meaning

I first encountered Pont's structural analysis in the mid-1990s during a four-year period during which I was working at the Royal Palace Karaton Surakarta (figure 1.3a). I had recently led a two-week workshop in the standards and techniques for documenting historic structures. To my surprise, one of the structural diagrams in Pont's series showing the most dramatic "uplift" was the Bangsal Witana, the building in the palace that had served as the central focus of our documentation methods exercise. Pont's section clearly captured the condition we had pondered long and hard when we confronted the misalignment of structural elements in the roof framing. Like the tent, the lower roof is hung from the rafter tails of the upper roof. The rafters pass over a structural beam that acts as a fulcrum. The combined mechanical action has the effect of



**Figure 1.3.** a. Documentation of the Royal Palace Karaton Surakarta's 1745 Bangsal Witana, Robert Cowherd is in the rafters (Michael Cooper with permission). b. Pak Asmo fashioning a column for the *Panggun Sangga Buwana* tower devoted to the Queen of the South Seas (Robert Cowherd).

lifting the upper roof rafters at midspan. Central to the dynamic equilibrium created by this structural mechanism is reduction in the midspan deflection of the upper roof rafters. Rather than demonstrating a primitive understanding of structure, Pont had revealed a previously unsung sophistication.

There was more at stake for Pont than carrying the argument on the stage in Bandung. Four years earlier, Pont accepted the commission to design the campus for *Bandoeng Technische Hoogschool*, what was to become the Bandung Institute of Technology. The college was a direct response to the Dutch Ethical Policy challenge of expanding the technical and social capacity of the indigenous populations of the Dutch East Indies. The terms of the brief were explicit: establish the cultural manifestation of a unified Tropical Netherlands across the diversity of several hundred subnational identities, Dutch society, and the Indo-European mestizo. Pont's drew from his encyclopedic knowledge of indigenous architectural practices to identify common traits of the Greater Sunda Tradition striking a careful balance of formal quotations so as to avoid triggering jealousies in the context of long-standing Javanese cultural domination. In a carefully calibrated formal move, the iconic forms of the main assembly halls (*aula*) flanking the campus entry call to mind, more

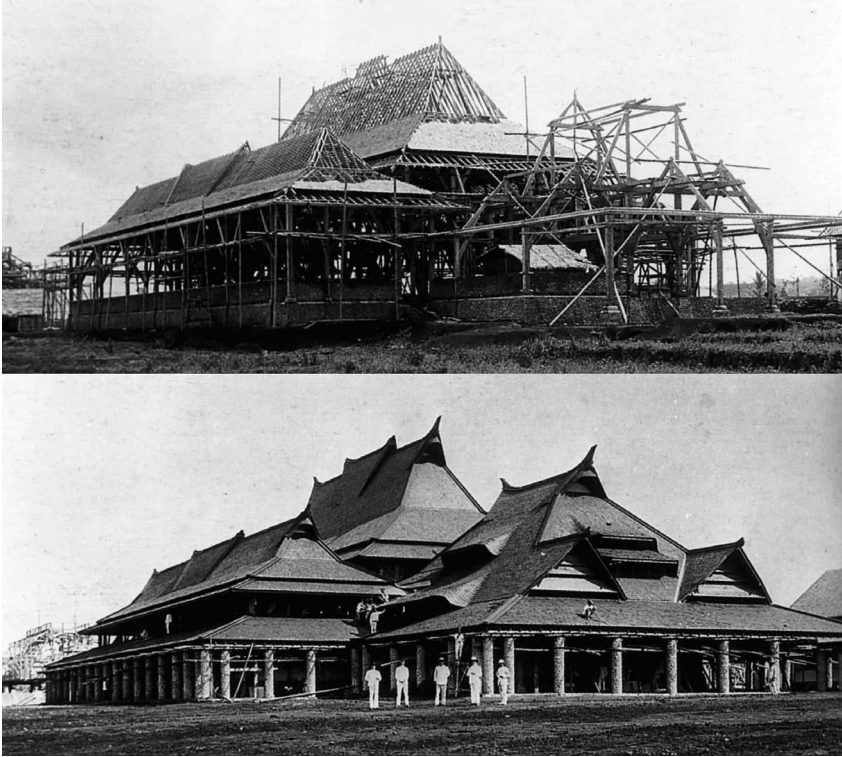
than any other precedent, the Minangkabau tradition of central Sumatra. Central to the rhetorical position of the architecture, Pont employed a series of giant-steel-connected wooden trusses celebrated in full view on the interiors of the great halls—an exhibition of Dutch technical sophistication. In this, Pont combined the indigenous with the colonial in a language of Arts and Crafts material expression to the great delight of Berlage (figure 1.4).

For Pont, the discovery of Javanese structural sophistication cast a shadow on his achievements in Bandung. Where the insights into Javanese tectonic expression opened doors to a vast new territory of experimentation, Pont's Bandung project had merely presented a formal collage on top of a European structural armature (figure 1.5). He would spend the bulk of his remaining years in Java experimenting with the structural dynamics of the roof system he identified in 1923. In a series of temporary and semi-permanent buildings, he tested the use of steel truss rods and lightweight roof forms designed to flex and move under lateral loadings.<sup>20</sup> In retrospect, it is not hard to imagine Pont's dissatisfaction with his achievement in the Bandung Institute of Technology as being not significantly different from Schoemaker's mongrel Mayan-European fusion: a more or less conventional structural frame serving as the supporting scaffold for whatever outwardly expressive form one might then decide to display.

Abidin Kusno's examination of Pont's structural interpretation emphasizes a colonial imperative to which Pont was responding: the need to legitimize Javanese vernacular as a technically sophisticated, perhaps even scientifically advanced, achievement "thus turning 'handicraft' into developed architectural science and technology, based on representable 'rationality.'"<sup>21</sup> In Kusno's reading, Pont pushed back against Schoemaker's dismissal of Javanese



**Figure 1.4.** Henri Maclaine Pont's 1921 *Bandoeng Technische Hoogschool* and Henri Maclaine Pont's 1921 wooden trusses with steel connectors, *Bandoeng Technische Hoogschool* (Robert Cowherd).



**Figure 1.5.** The relationship between form and structure in Henri Maclaine Pont's 1921 *Bandoeng Technische Hoogschool* (PD).

wooden buildings by identifying a recognizably “scientific” sophistication. Kusno goes further to point at something added and something lost in Pont’s interpretation:

Hierarchy was formed according to the hypothetical “development” of the structural principles, starting from the outline of a “tent.” This mode of representation constructs a position for an evolutionary account of buildings in the Indies, from a “simple” type into a more complex one. Each type was given a caption showing the name and site of the buildings. However, as the diagram is based exclusively on a structural and formal appropriateness, all socio-cultural differences were effectively suppressed.<sup>22</sup>

The first aspect to examine more closely is the teleological evolution introduced by Pont in his narrative of development from the tensile structural system of the so-called primitive tent, through a progression of increasing



sophistication developing over time, to arrive at the largest and most complex example. In so doing, Pont presents a climax typology. The rhetorical device of laying claim to tectonic-formal origins in the tent calls to mind the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century-style debates between proponents of the classical and the Gothic presenting competing models of the “primitive hut” that constituted the “natural” origins of all architecture.<sup>23</sup> Pont grants permission for reading a march-of-progress storyline into his portrayal, engaging the possibility of an avant-garde emerging from the vernacular. This operates in direct contradiction to what Schrieke identifies as a key characteristic of Javanese historiography: the forging of continuity across even dramatic historical transformations, dynastic changes, even (or especially) colonialisms.<sup>24</sup> Indigenous cultural norms operate to assert an inward undisturbed continuity, all the more emphatically defended in the face of dramatic change in outer forms. As a colonial ethnographer, Schrieke’s interpretation is itself not immune from readings that range from the “inscrutable” to the “ineffable.”

The second aspect worthy of closer examination is Kusno’s critique of Pont’s suppression of “sociocultural” difference in the abstraction and classification of structure at the expense of all else. Even if overstated in light of the larger study within which the structural interpretation was embedded, the larger point remains an important consideration, particularly within the postcolonial context in which colonial exigencies have a way of evolving into postcolonial imperatives.

Pont’s three-year Public Health Service survey of the archipelago (1920–1923) was driven by the need to follow up on an earlier campaign to ban the use of bamboo in the villages for fear of its contribution to disease and pestilence.<sup>25</sup> The unexpected result of his tour of inspection was a careful description of the violence inflicted on the people of Java by the colonial repression of building in Bamboo. The sociocultural practices called *sambatan* employed standardized building elements that allowed a relatively unskilled surplus agricultural labor to independently prefabricate the components of houses distributed through local networks of exchange in the manner of a socially prescribed gift economy. The rapid growth of bamboo and its structural capacity added to its economy and the central role it played in reinforcing the collective self-sufficiency of local *kampung* communities. Pont described measures to reduce or eliminate the problems of rotting and infestation that had originally inspired the campaign against bamboo on hygienic grounds.<sup>26</sup> The multiyear campaign by Pont and his former partner Thomas Karsten to restore bamboo to its central social economic role testifies to his deep understanding of the holistic interconnectedness of building cultures with every other aspect of indigenous life.

There is a larger religious aspect of Javanese tectonics that remains an underexplored aspect of the question of *Indische Architectuur*. The literature

of Javanese building practices reveals a complex hierarchy of building types each with a specific set of meanings associated with it. The codes and meanings are elaborated in a set of pattern books called the *Primbon* (covering all aspects of numerology) and the *Kawruh Kalang* (more specific to the codes and spiritual import of every aspect of wood construction).<sup>27</sup> The oral traditions surrounding these two books establish the basis for interpretation in each village, town, and royal court by a master builder serving simultaneously as a spiritual guide. Within these guidelines a builder-architect-priest exercises varying degrees of authority to interpret the meanings and practices as appropriate, adjusting to specific site conditions or a particular set of socioreligious conditions of the community and client. Within this system of flexible interpretation, the form and expression of the roof type stands out as a potential indicator of status subject to rigid enforcement as it signals to the community a complex intersection of functional, religious, and social meanings. In the broadened perspective of this elaborate system of signifiers and signifieds, the structural expression of the roof form stands as only one of the many factors employed in the system of constructed meaning. The “hanging” roof type is indeed structurally sophisticated, but it is not appropriate to be used on just any building. This distinguishes it sharply from being simply one of several options on a menu of structural choices.

During my years working with the royal family of the Karaton Surakarta, the master builder-architect-priest Pak Asmo and his crew wore the crimson and gold ribbon required of anyone on the palace grounds not of direct royal descent (figure 1.3b). It signals to the mythical queen of the South Seas, *Kangjeng Ratu Kidul*, that they are in the palace complex at the pleasure of king. They used an assortment of axes, adzes, and gouges to shape each feature of the wood structures that together constitute a talismanic microcosm of the Hindu-Javanese universe. Imbalances in the flow of good fortune from the heavens through the center of the palace and to the larger royal realm manifest in crop failure, rebellion, or volcanic eruption, and are remedied through ritual performances in the appropriate location in the palace complex. Every mortised notch and tenoned finger of every structural joint has a Javanese name that indicates simultaneously its structural function and its mystical-religious role in the larger cosmological operations of the *karaton* complex. It was Pak Asmo’s responsibility of ensuring the proper physical connections and spiritual flows upon which the well-being of the earthly realm depends. Rebuilding several sacred buildings lost to a catastrophic 1985 fire caused by bad wiring and/or a disgruntled deity (depending on whom you ask), government engineers insisted on substituting steel and concrete versions of some elements that had previously been made of wood timber and stone. Unperturbed, Pak Asmo translated the technical and religious functions of the wood and stone elements into new materials to maintain the overall flow of good fortune

through the palace's spiritual infrastructure. Except for the sacred columns harvested from old growth forests from the four cardinal directions around the palace, the materials used in the new buildings were of less importance than the form of the elements and the manner of their assembly. As long as the structural relationship between roof rafters, supporting beams, and columns were maintained, they could be rendered in a variety of materials. In contrast, the typology of the building and the form of the roof are absolutely fixed and nonnegotiable.

The preceding examination suggests several questions for consideration when confronted with both historic and contemporary situations of architecture operating across cultures and times. When might working across cultural meanings be justified? When is a resulting tectonic expression "mongrel" and when can it be more favorably considered a "hybrid cultural formation"? The objects of our interpretive lens are subject to the language of abstraction, and, being abstract, are susceptible to appropriation. Given a history in which we find that cultural politics routinely operates by appropriating abstractions, does tectonic expression offer a more solid alternative to the slippage of meanings attaching to more abstract forms? What distinguishes the "inscrutable" from the "ineffable"?

### **An Unlikely Bamboo Revival: Green School, Bali**

In September 2008, North American jewelry designers and long-term Bali residents John and Cynthia Hardy welcomed the first class of students to the Green School in the village of Abiansema, about fourteen kilometers outside of Ubud, Bali.<sup>28</sup> The international school caters mostly to the children of expatriate families from all over the world with about one-fifth of the students from Bali. The most remarkable thing about the school is its innovative holistic approach born of John Hardy's troubled relationship with conventional schools and the inspiration of Alan Wagstaff's "Three Springs" sustainable village community education reform model.<sup>29</sup> Wagstaff's educational manifesto reads as an architectural brief covering programmatic adjacencies, such as classrooms clustered around kitchens and living spaces, calling for passive systems and composting toilets, and specifying the qualities of different spaces as "soft contours." The educational model depends in part on the elimination of hard boundaries between spaces by doing without doors and by integrating buildings into the landscape.<sup>30</sup> Rejecting the "tiny boxes" model presented by their architects, John and Cynthia Hardy decided to design their own campus and embarked on the creation of some of the most ambitious bamboo structures in the world. In place of the administrative complex, they built the Heart of School out of some seven kilometers of bamboo. There are no windows or doors. The campus has grown over the years since to encompass dozens of equally adventurous bamboo buildings lightly touching the rice fields, forest, and river gorge. Each addition to the campus is the

result of radical experimentation in the technical limitations and expressive range of bamboo.

The ceiling of the PT Bambu (Bambu, Inc.) office from where the design and construction of Green School buildings is coordinated is a repository of some hundred or so models, themselves constructed of carefully scaled slivers of bamboo. About one-third of these models more or less closely emulates indigenous vernacular house forms that Pont would recognize from his years surveying village housing conditions throughout the archipelago. The rest appear as flights of fancy, swooping, spiraling, or spinning with abandon. Unlike the vernacular precedents, the new vocabulary of form demonstrated in these models appears to break away from any prior architectural tradition. It is difficult not to make some connection between the freshness of these forms and the relative freedom found in jewelry design. In jewelry design, the design process moves directly from sketching to full-scale prototyping in the actual material of the final product. Similarly, PT Bambu moves from sketch drawings to 1:50 scale bamboo models, to full-scale buildings. Because of the swirling non-orthogonal form of most PT Bambu designs, construction drawings would be difficult to generate and even more difficult to build from, even if building crews were trained to read them.

By a fluke of botany and physics, the structural behavior of a bamboo pole is similar to that of a sliver of the same material at a scale of 1:50. This is not true of more conventional building materials. This permits a remarkably precise structural analogy by which the behavior of the final construction is well-predicted by the behavior of its scale model. Pak Wayan is PT Bambu's construction supervisor and lead designer. He can often be found in the design studio shaving off bits of a large bamboo pole and tying it into the model on his work table (figure 1.6). Once in place, his practiced hand presses against the structure in various directions taking the measure of deflections. He then adds or subtracts bamboo elements from the structure, increasing or decreasing the spacing of poles. He alters the degree of curvature in bent elements. This simultaneously changes the degree of structural prestressing in the element and the overall form of the building. Pak Wayan is also the master builder-architect-priest of the village.

The capacity of physical modeling as practiced by PT Bambu to maintain the complex interrelationships between the physical dimensions and characteristic behaviors of individual elements and composite behaviors of integrated assemblies is something that has only recently been approximated through sophisticated digital modeling applications. It is thus ironic that contemporary building codes in Indonesia compel PT Bambu to employ university-educated architects from Java to tediously translate the bamboo models into three-dimensional digital models using AutoCAD—a notoriously unstable mode of the largely outdated AutoCAD toolset. The resulting digital files are sent off to engineers in Java who run the numbers confirming the



**Figure 1.6.** Master builder-architect-priest as designer in PT. Bambu, Abiansemal, Bali (Robert Cowherd).

results of the iterative physical modeling process. Once the local authorities review the resulting quantitative structural analysis, they issue a building permit. As on stage at the Bandung-style debate, the unquantified but undeniable performance of a structure is rendered invisible by the possibility of numerical analysis.

With a permit in hand, the drawings are set aside, and the physical model is placed at the center of the site near a plentiful inventory of bamboo poles. The master-builder has a hand scale that allows him to measure a part of the model and select a full-scale element for use in the final construction. Interior elements, such as seating, built-in furniture, railings, and stairs, are all mocked up at full scale using a combination of bamboo and corrugated cardboard.

In place of any identifiable formula, we see a rapid accumulation of structural innovations borne of necessity in the pursuit of PT Bambu's ever-expanding inventory of novel forms. Counterrotational hyperbolic paraboloids constitute the structural cores of the Heart of School (figure 1.7). Kerf-cut bamboo-curved beams were developed for use where structural loads accumulate in tight spaces. Laminated split bamboo beams are another technique developed to permit small-radius curvatures and large loads. A similar attitude is brought to bear on the development of interior details that break with



**Figure 1.7.** PT Bambu's Heart of the School, Green School, Abiansemal, Bali (Aga Khan Award for Architecture).

conventions. Ripping a bamboo pole into a rectangular section along its central axis produces a stunning ladder form that was discovered along the way and is a structural and decorative element used as an eye-catching interior detail. Where partitions exist at all, they tend to be various densities of weaving patterns calibrated to achieve just the right permeability of air, light, sound, and privacy. Most roofs are traditional Balinese *alang-alang* grass thatching while others appeared to be innovations more or less consciously derived from the bamboo shingle tradition characteristic of Penglipuran village on the other side of South Central Bali.

The central question posed by this research requires a deeper understanding of the role, attitude, and experience of Pak Wayan: to what extent is he just one of the skilled local craftsman around which the Hardys previously built their successful jewelry business? Or, does Pak Wayan see himself as the builder-architect-priest connected in an unbroken ancestral chain with those of his village that came before him? Or, is this one more false dichotomy imposed by an outside researcher onto the context of Java and Bali? Is there an inscrutable or ineffable “Balinese-ness” being transmitted through the hands of the crafts people? Is there a “hidden transcript” awaiting translation?<sup>31</sup> Or, is this simply and unproblematically a matter of entrepreneurial savvy harnessing the skills and labor of and indigenous workforce endowed with a remarkable material cultural heritage?

### Notes

1. The *Indische Stijl* (Indies or Indo-European Style) was considered a physical counterpart of prior social (*Indische Societeit*) and political (*Partai Indische*) manifestations of colonial third culture hybridity. See Robert Nieuwenhuys, *Oost Indische Spiegel* (Amsterdam: EmQuirido's, Uitg. B. V.); Djoko Soekiman, *Kebudayaan Indis: Dan Gaya Hidup Masyarakat Pendukungnya di Jawa Abad, XVIII-Medio Abad XX* (Yogyakarta: Yayasan Bentang Budaya, 2000); and Jacques van Doorn, "A Divided Society: Segmentation and Mediation in Late-Colonial Indonesia," *Comparative Asian Studies Programme* 6, Rotterdam (1983), 12.
2. Abidin Kusno, *Behind the Postcolonial: Architecture, Urban Space and Political Cultures in Indonesia* (London: Routledge, 2000); Iwan Sudradjat, "A Study of Indonesian Architectural History" (PhD diss., University of Sydney, 1991); Stephen Cairns, "Occult Dwellings: Architecture, Anthropology and the Possibilities of a Postcolonial Sublime" (PhD diss., University of Melbourne, 1997); Huib Akihary, *Architectuur & Stedebouw in Indonesie: 1870/1970* (Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 1990); and Helen Ibbitson Jessup, "Netherlands Architecture in Indonesia, 1900–1942," (PhD diss., Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 1989).
3. Pramoedya Ananta Toer, "The Book That Killed Colonialism," *New York Times Magazine*, section 6 (April 18, 1999), 112–14.
4. Abidin Kusno, *Behind the Postcolonial: Architecture, Urban Space and Political Cultures in Indonesia* (London: Routledge, 2000), 49–53.
5. Two of several volumes on standardized housing types found in Indonesian libraries dating from the colonial period include: Henrik Petrus Berlage et al., *Arbeiderswoningen in Nederland: Vijftig met Rijkssteun* (Rotterdam: W. L. & J. Brusse, 1921); and A. H. Weberif, *Bouw van Midden-Standswoningen* (Apeldoorn: N. V. De Zonnebloem, 1919).
6. C. Nico van der Heiden, "Town Planning in the Dutch Indies," *Planning Perspectives* 5, no. 1 (January 1990), 63–84.
7. Pauline Dublin Milone, "Queen City of the East: The Metamorphosis of a Colonial Capital," PhD dissertation, University of California, Berkeley (1967); Susan Abeyasekere, *Jakarta: A History* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1987).
8. H. P. Berlage, "De Europeesche Bouwkunst Op Java," in *De Ingenieur*, no. 22, 1924, 16; Cor Passchier, "Colonial Architecture in Indonesia: References and Developments," *The Past in the Present: Architecture in Indonesia*, ed. Peter J. M. Nas (Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, 2007), 97–112.
9. Gottfried Semper quoted in William J. R. Curtis, *Modern Architecture Since 1900* (New York: Phaidon Press, 1996), 29.
10. Naoshi Uda and Masayuki Irie, "A Study on H. P. Berlage's Travel Writing 'Mijn Indische Reis': Studies on Hendrik Petrus Berlage," *Journal of Architectural Planning AII* 76, no. 665 (July 2011), 1319–28.
11. Frank Lloyd Wright, *Ausgeführte Bauten und Entwürfe* (Berlin: Ernst Was-muth, 1910); and H. Th. Wijdeveld et al., "The Life Work of the American Architect: Frank Lloyd Wright," *Wendingen* 4, no. 11 (1921), and 7, no. 3–9 (1925) a journal published in Amsterdam by the society "Architectura et Amicitia," and Hooge Brug Publishers.
12. Paul Wheatley, *The Pivot of the Four Quarters: A Preliminary Enquiry into the Origins and Character of the Ancient Chinese City* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1971), 255–57.

13. Helen Ibbitson Jessup, "Dutch Architectural Visions of the Indonesian Tradition," *Muqarnas* 3 (1985), 138–61; Kusno, *Behind the Postcolonial* (2000), 30; Stephen Cairns, "Re-Surfacing: Architecture, Wayang and the 'Javanese House,'" chapter *Postcolonial Space(s)*, eds. Gulsum Baydar Noltanboglu and Wong Chong Thai (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998), 73–88.
14. Parmono Atmadi, *Some Architectural Design Principles of Temples in Java: A Study Through the Buildings Projection on the Reliefs of Borobudur Temple* (Yogyakarta: Gajah Mada University Press, 1988).
15. Jessup, "Dutch Architectural Visions," 144–5.
16. Jan van Dullemen, *Tropical Modernity: The Life and Work of C.P. Wolff Schoemaker* (Amsterdam: Sun Architecture, 2009).
17. C. P. Wolff Schoemaker, *Aesthetiek en Oorsprong der Hindoe-kunst op Java* [Aesthetic and Origins of Hindu Art on Java] (1924) an ibid.
18. Pont, Schoemaker, and contemporary architects all learn that the stiffness of a rectangular section beam can be quantified using the parallel axis theorem for calculation area moments of inertia. This is done by calculating the "moment of inertia" as being equal to the beam's height raised to the third power multiplied by the beam's width and the product divided by 12. The mathematical expression is:  $I = b(h^3)/12$ .
19. Henri Maclaine Pont, "Javaansche Architectuur," *Djawa* 3 & 4 (1923, 1924).
20. Helen Ibbitson Jessup, "Four Dutch Buildings in Indonesia" *Orientalia* 13, no. 9–12 (1982).
21. Kusno, *Behind the Postcolonial*, 40.
22. Ibid.
23. Laugier and Violet-le-Duc famously presented opposing versions of the "primitive hut." See Joseph Rykwert, *On Adam's House in Paradise: The Idea of the Primitive Hut in Architectural History* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1981).
24. B. Schrieke, *Ruler and Realm in Early Java* (The Hague and Bandung: W. van Hoeve Ltd., 1957), 99.
25. Jessup, "Dutch Architectural Visions," 141.
26. Ibid., 145.
27. Josef Prijotomo, *Ideas and Forms of Javanese Architecture* (Yogyakarta, Indonesia: Gajah Mada University Press, 198). Josef Prijotomo, "Building a Home: a case on Javanese architecture in Primbon" (unpublished manuscript supplied by the author, n.d.). Scott Robertson, "Significant Pavilions: The Traditional Javanese House as a Symbolic Terrain" (PhD Dissertation, University of New South Wales, Australia, 2012).
28. John Hardy, conversation with author, Abiansemal, Bali (July 13, 2012).
29. John Hardy, Technology Entertainment Design (TED) Global, July 2010, accessed: [http://www.ted.com/talks/john\\_hardy\\_my\\_green\\_school\\_dream.html](http://www.ted.com/talks/john_hardy_my_green_school_dream.html), 12 July 2012.
30. Alan Wagstaff, "'Three Springs': Design Concept for a Learning Neighborhood" (Hamilton, New Zealand: Raw Education, ca. 2006), accessed: <http://www.raweducation.com/three-springs/>, July 31, 2013.
31. James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992).





# Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

# Carceral Capital: The Prison Industrial Complex in Colonial India<sup>1</sup>

*Mira Rai Waits*

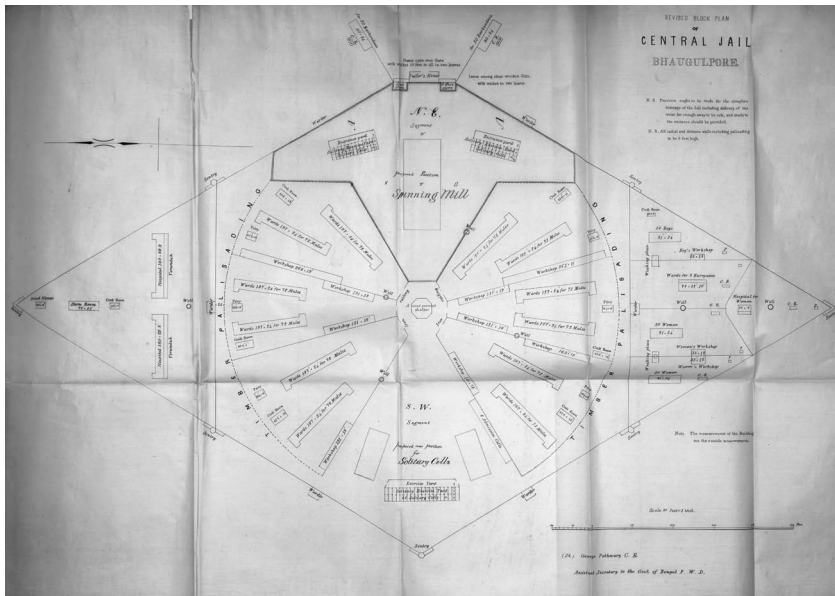
## **The Prison in Colonial India**

Supported by the colonial state and motivated by the need to manage an unfamiliar population, the construction of prisons in nineteenth-century India was among the most important changes incurred by British rule.<sup>2</sup> The British colonial prison was introduced as part of a larger scheme of modern infrastructure that included police stations, post offices, railroads, and hospitals. Transforming spaces of custody from a mere interlude between trial and punishment to a permanent space of punishment, British officials believed in the potential of the penal institution to reform India's existing "barbaric" system of justice and the troubling criminal population. In the space of colony, the articulation of these reforms adhered to a different logic than that of the European penal model. The promise of the modern European prison to provide a "therapeutic space" for fabricating virtue among the criminal classes was impossible in the colonial context.<sup>3</sup> The ideological structure of British colonialism prohibited the recognition of natives as anything other than a subordinate class of subjects; they could not participate in the government of their colonial masters and as such were not recognized as citizens capable of moral reform.<sup>4</sup>

Bereft of a moral imperative, colonial prisons over the course of the nineteenth century developed a pragmatic imperative that was specific to the needs of the colonial state. The centerpiece of British colonial penology was the combination of long-term incarceration with a rigorous mode of convict discipline based on remunerative labor. Instead of the large-scale introduction of solitary or cellular confinement to affect moral change in the individual, as was the case with early nineteenth-century English prisons, the allocation of spaces for labor became the defining principle of colonial prison architecture.<sup>5</sup>

Prison-industrial complexes from the 1870s such as the Bhagulpore Central Jail in Bihar were designed as axially symmetrical spaces that separated prisoners according to race, criminality, and gender, and yet provided equal opportunities for all to labor (figure 2.1). Built under the auspices of the newly formed British Raj, the Bhagulpore Central Jail and the subsequent central jails modeled after it established a firm connection between incarceration and industry. Prisons attempted to emulate the factory, manufacturing specialized goods required by the British colonial state. Industrial spaces were built in prominent locations inside the jail. As a space of labor (and not moral) reform, the prison promised to improve colonial subjects' capacity for labor thereby creating a class of subject workers. Such a promise appealed to British colonialists struggling with how to maintain control over a vast and diverse territory. They believed that the experience of incarceration would transform criminal bodies into efficient laboring bodies, whose labor power would benefit the needs of empire.

Jail spaces such as the Bhagulpore Central Jail were significant in the development of modern colonial infrastructure because they represent the culmination of years of experimentation with different building types. They also demonstrate the emphasis on standardizing jail designs, specifically the preference for radial plans, and link the idea of production to that of punishment. These prisons were conceived of spaces to contain and encourage



**Figure 2.1.** Revised plan of the Bhagulpore Central Jail (showing the proposed position of the mill), 1876–77 © The British Library Board (OIOC IOR/P/925), all images used with permission.

industrial labor and promote the health of prisoners in so far as their health led to greater efficiency. Prison architecture was responsible for homogenizing prisoners' lives, establishing clear boundaries between workspaces and sleeping spaces that mirrored the development of privatized factory towns in order to produce a salubrious environment for labor to flourish. The new prison model spaces represented a departure from earlier colonial prison models, which were loosely organized structures that failed to provide any kind of daily regular order for the inmates contained within. By contrast, most new prison-industrial complexes were large central jails placed at the intersection of various districts and designated by the government as the permanent residences for the surrounding regions' habitual and long-term prisoners.

Each central jail would specialize in producing one type of goods. For example, the Bhagulpore Central Jail operated as a mill where woolen commodities including blankets and clothing required by the British military were made. These prisons became the prototype for modern prison complexes across India; the identity of a prison became fixed to the various goods manufactured within its walls. Thus it is important to see these prisons in terms of their location within the broader history of modern capitalism, in particular, its insatiable need for cheap or forced labor. They represent a particular manner in which modern capitalist enterprise found footing in the colonial context.

The capitalist space of the colonial prison circumvented certain components of the Marxian scheme of capital. A stipulation of modern capital is that in order for labor power to be sold as a commodity, the possessor of that labor power must be the proprietor of his/her person.<sup>6</sup> However, colonial prisoners, who were both incarcerated men and colonial subjects, could never freely sell their labor. This contradiction posits the capitalist space of the prison as a rupture in the universalizing narrative of modern capital as a liberating force. The colonial prison space defies the assumption that the successful operation of capital requires a theoretical acceptance of the idea of human equality within society.<sup>7</sup> Liberal colonial ideology was merged with economic pragmatism to form an innovative space of government infrastructure. The prison combined punishment with profit, inventing a system to extract exchangeable labor from those who ironically had been deprived of the liberty to choose to work.

Colonial officials sought to validate their marriage of industry to incarceration through the positive social consumption of prison labor. The consumption occurred at two levels. The first level occurred when the material objects produced by prison labor were obtained and utilized by the government and private consumers. The second more complicated level of consumption has to do with the visual and representational consumption of prison labor. Labor's reformatory power over criminal bodies became part of the social message of empire. Representations of prison labor helped justify the necessity of imperial intervention for a consuming public. In the process, the identity

of the colonial prison as a space of industry was commodified, and its social responsibility acquired legibility.

Labor's role in shaping the organization and experience of incarceration in the colonial prison space is evidence of the flexibility of the prison institution across different times and spaces. The appearance of the prison in the colonial setting was not just the predictable result of British colonization.<sup>8</sup> The buildings and spaces that were produced were reinvented and served a purpose specific to the needs of colonial society. The juxtaposition of factory and prison in colonial India disputes the Eurocentric view of disciplinary institutions, which assumes that an egalitarian society interested in moral reform informs the production of the modern prison space. The transformation of prisons into factories in India was an architectural solution for the empire governed by ideology and economy. However, the commodification of the idea of labor within the larger realm of colonial society is simultaneously challenged and reinforced by the particular and messy reality of these spaces. Understanding the history of incarceration relative to labor repositions the architecture of the prison within the scope of modern capital. This alignment reveals much about the similarity between the experience of incarceration and that of the wage laborer.

### **Parasitic Capital**

Labor histories from colonial India, such as that of the colonial prison, fall outside of the dominant narrative of capital. Capital functioned differently in the colonial setting both in terms of the actual workforce involved and the way that it ameliorated itself into the social fabric of India. Capital in the colonies aligned itself with a paternalist philosophy. Colonialism was represented as a necessary intervention, justified through the visual presence of development, which in turn advanced a site-specific liberal philosophy. The British understood Indian society to be less advanced than British society, claiming that Indians needed their governing hand to develop into a modern civilization. Or, as John Stuart Mill famously summarized when he suggested the British government be a "[government] of leading-strings" for its colonial possessions, necessary "as a means of gradually training the people to walk alone."<sup>9</sup> Until such time when Indian society could "walk alone," the British would rule the people of India not as citizens, but rather as colonial subjects. Capital likewise was perceived as a force of the modern world, a product of colonial expansion. India's economy according to Marx was primitive; the British had hastily ushered in India's industrial age reformulating the essence of Indian society.<sup>10</sup>

Capitalist enterprise developed in the colonies as a caveat to liberal philosophy. The denial of citizenship did not preclude the necessity of economic development and the systems of commodity exchange that went along with it. Consequently, as Vinay Gidwani has argued, capital acquired a parasitic quality,

"[drawing] its force by attempting to divert or attach itself to other kinds of energy or logic—cultural, political, nonhuman—whose contributions . . . are erased from conventional accounts . . . [The] capitalist-space economy that took shape [in the colonies] . . . was a process of *channeling* and *forming* in desired ways the errant matter of native subjects and their physical environments."<sup>11</sup> Prisons in India proved to be spaces to which capital could attach; capital was aligned with reformation and the improvement of colonial subjects through the process of laboring.

Labor factored into the lived experience of the Indian prison beginning in the late eighteenth century. From a practical perspective, mandated labor occupied prisoners, providing them with tasks to fill their days. Labor was also a source of revenue for the cash-strapped British East India Company (EIC). Commissioning prisoners on public works made such projects affordable, while prison labor indoors could potentially generate revenue from the material products of that labor. Finally, penal labor provided a way of disciplining bodies that fell in line with the logic of enlightenment ideology. Labor, as a tool of discipline, was dramatically different from earlier forms of corporal punishment; instead of using the body as the locus of punishment, labor, as a form of punishment, transformed the purpose of that body into a productive one. Labor became a tool of control, providing colonial officials with an organizing principle for their newly developed colonial penology.

It was only a matter of time before the use of labor became a standard component of the penal experience. Despite the fact that incarcerated men were not free to sell their labor, that is, their life activity as described by Marx, variations of capitalist exchanges took place. Prisoners exchanged their labor not for wages, but for sustenance. Their bodies were the raw materials the government needed to maintain their course of development and support the needs of empire. These bodies were invariably commodified as a part of a parasitic process of capital. Furthermore the system of domination intrinsic to capital could develop rationally within the "network of disciplinary relationships" that naturally manifest within the prison space.<sup>12</sup> Prison factories thus became sites where rehabilitated men along with material goods were produced.

The marriage of labor and imprisonment was not an idea exclusive to prisons in India. Since the prison in the nineteenth century coincided with the industrial revolution, many prisons around the world experimented with various forms of labor. Dario Melossi and Massimo Paravini have argued that the very structure of early prisons was meant to emulate the factory, only instead of mass-producing commodities, the prison would effect change in the individual.<sup>13</sup> Within the segregated walls of the prison men who failed to participate in the capitalist process were reformed, made to reason, and then forced to become wage laborers in the service of the state. This practice, as Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno later argued, characterizes "the

human being in jail is the virtual image of the bourgeois type he has yet to make himself in reality.”<sup>14</sup> As a consequence of this transformation, prisons effectively represent “the image of the bourgeois working world thought through to the end, set up as an emblem in the world by the hatred of human beings for what they are forced to make themselves become.”<sup>15</sup> Prisons and the social relations deployed within that space produced a capitalist space *in process*; capital flowed as prisoners were further subjected.

However the capitalist space of the colonial prison differed from European prisons because they were governed by the assumption that the colonial subjects confined within prison walls could never belong to bourgeois society. The British assumed that their subjects were incapable of reason and yet they were viewed as capable of labor. This inherent contradiction speaks to the diversity of capital or, as Dipesh Chakrabarty argues, the different stories of capital.<sup>16</sup> In India a capitalist space was produced wherein wage-labor was actually incarcerated subject labor. The fallacy of using un-free labor to advance a capitalist agenda could be hidden behind prison walls and ignored, under the guise of liberal intervention. The desire to labor was not a secondary consequence of moral reformation because subjects could not be reformed in a bourgeois and thus rational manner; rather labor unto itself was the only means of reformation. Furthermore, colonial prisons, as they began to more closely resemble a factory, provided an interesting model for the rest of India as they paved a way for modern industry demonstrating the merits of industrialization, even though the power of capital was vested in the state rather than any private owner or corporation.

Prison architecture developed in such a way to promote the processes of capital as they manifested in the colonial setting. In a certain sense, the spatial organization of the prison represents the perfect articulation of the capitalist experience. Historically, wage laborers moved to urban centers, dislocating themselves from their previous lives in order to work in the factory. In the prison the totality of this dislocation is even further realized. Prisons were premised on dislocating prisoners from their native environment and experiences to inundate them with the rigors of prison life. Prisoners were so completely incorporated into the system of capital that nearly every aspect of their lives was governed by their position as laborers. Prison factories in the large central jails were separated spaces of residence, bound by both exterior prison walls and their own internal divisions. Thus the experience of going to work was replicated even within the factory microcosm of the prison. This capitalist space produced a kind of discipline similar to factory discipline that went beyond the homogenization of time and attempted to homogenize experience.

### Constructing Capitalist Space

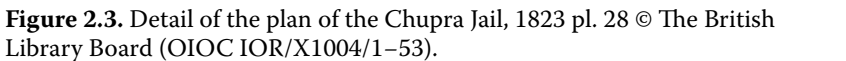
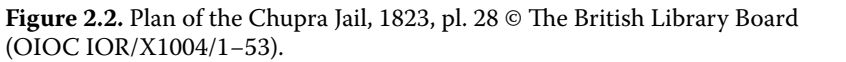
British colonists experimented with many different architectural articulations of prison space before finally arriving on the inclusion of a factory as the organizing unit of penal discipline. The earliest construction record of a colonial

prison in India dates back to late-eighteenth-century Bengal. Between 1765 and 1911, the center of British colonial governance was located in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, with its capital in Calcutta. The late eighteenth century witnessed many political changes in India as the British EIC gradually gained the right to govern Bengal and the surrounding states. In 1765, after a protracted war, EIC acquired the *diwani*, or the right to collect revenue, in Bengal and Bihar. Twenty-five years later they were granted the right to oversee and administer criminal justice, within the confines of the existing Mughal court system. Faced with the enormous task of governing the economic and judicial matters of the day, the EIC began to do away with the existing systems of punishment on the grounds that they were archaic and barbaric.<sup>17</sup> Following trends from Europe, they decided to introduce prisons in order to reform the punishment of India's criminal class.<sup>18</sup> However, the EIC had little energy and resources to develop a comprehensive penal system, and the jails they did construct failed to provide enough accommodation for all the prisoners in Bengal.<sup>19</sup>

These early jails were a heterogeneous collection of buildings with variances in plan and function. Although the largest jails could contain up to 500 prisoners, most of these jails were modest structures known as lock-ups or *hajuts*, some of which had been adapted from the Mughal *faujdari* jails or from existing forts and places, such as the Midnapore Jail in West Bengal, formerly a Mahratta Fort.<sup>20</sup> Depending on whether or not the jail was newly constructed or adapted, early British jails might resemble Mughal architecture, British military architecture, or even local vernacular architecture. For example, the organization of the jail buildings at the Chupra Jail in Bihar, built in 1802, was modeled on the plan of army barracks where many wards of similar dimensions would be symmetrically arranged around a central building that would often house the *darogah's* or superintendent's house or headquarters (figure 2.2). The individual wards represent early examples of the single-story colonial bungalow type, developed by colonial engineers, who had adopted the form of indigenous domestic structures (figure 2.3).

There were other variations in design. Prisons might be enclosed with a perimeter wall, but often the wall would be fairly permeable from the outside, and in a few cases certain prisons lacked the wall altogether.<sup>21</sup> The materials of construction used in these early jails also varied. For example, jails could be built with thatched roofs or tile roofs. Some jails were made from either *pucka* or fired bricks, while others were made from *kutchra* or mud bricks. The temporary nature of construction made these early prisons very insecure as well as prone to fires and destruction by storms.<sup>22</sup> In addition to their variances in organization, early jails were located in poor or unhealthy parts of towns that often suffered floods and were prone to malaria or cholera outbreaks.<sup>23</sup> Also, instead of dislocating prisoners from their lives prior to incarceration, many early jails were built in town centers, so it was easy for prisoners to maintain connections with family and friends.

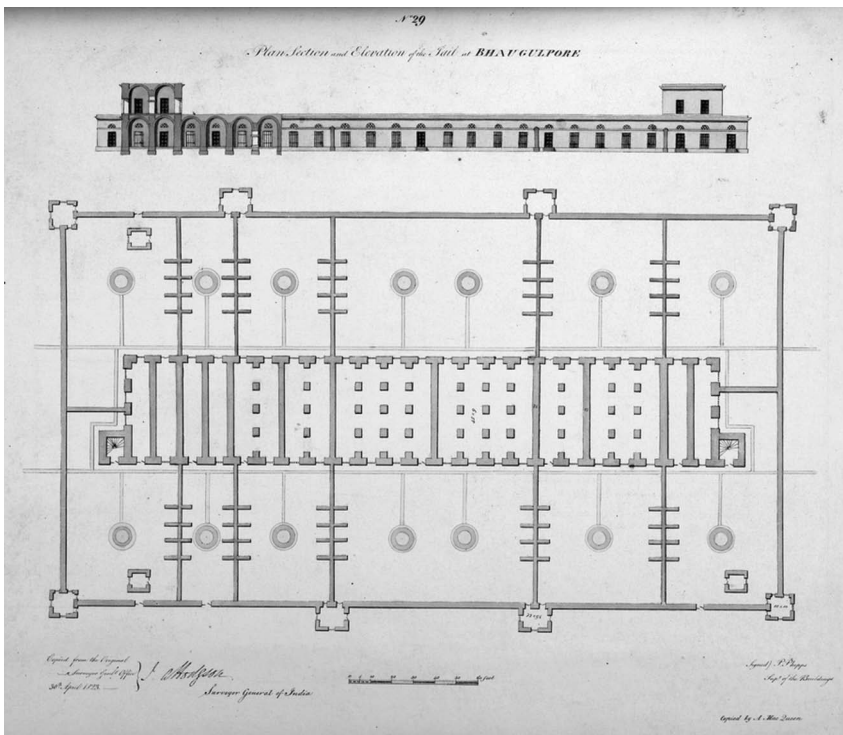




26

elements from its earlier function including Venetian doors along with an arched verandah that spanned the building's length.

Even when jails were constructed as new buildings, their plans encouraged flexibility in how the various spaces were used. The district jail in Bhagulpore, built in 1795, represents the most typical spatial organization of early prison buildings (figure 2.4). A perimeter wall enclosed one large jail building built in the center of the yard. The building was divided into wards using thick walls that extended all the way to the perimeter wall, which in turn created small courtyards in front of each ward. The yards were meant to function as self-contained units, each containing its own well. Sentry boxes were built along the perimeter wall for prison officers to watch over prisoners occupying the yard. The building had two stories on either end; the second stories were used as hospitals, female wards, or storage. There were no interior divisions aside from the division of wards, so prisoners could congregate in the interior and then move to the outer yard through iron-grated doors on either side of the ward. This layout avoided prescribing specific functions for the



**Figure 2.4.** Plan of the Bhagulpore Jail, 1823 pl. 29 © The British Library Board (OIOC IOR/X1004/1-53).

different internal spaces. There were no cooking spaces designated on any of the early plans, and prisoners—who were free to cook their own food in early colonial jails—could appropriate different spaces for this purpose. The lack of specificity exhibits a kind of spatial fluidity where one building could be easily transformed through a process of renaming and the construction of rooms. The wards could be partitioned at a later date if the prison population required separation. The greatest deficit of early colonial jails, according to prison officials, was their lack of control over the day-to-day experience. These buildings were arranged to contain bodies, but provided no direction on how to occupy those bodies. Colonial officials turned to the introduction of indoor labor as an occupation that would consume prisoners' time and equip the architecture of the prison with a material function.

An interest in indoor labor was articulated during the 1830s, when prominent British colonialists came together to weigh in on how to reform the colonial penal system. A number of political and legislative changes such as the appointment of William Bentinck as governor-general of India (1828–35), along with the criminalization of *sati*, or widow suicide (1829), and the abolition of flogging (1834) fostered a climate where penal improvement was prioritized. The first official inquiry into the penal system of colonial India was sanctioned, culminating in a report published in 1838 titled the *Report of the Committee on Prison-Discipline*.<sup>24</sup> Labor was among the issues explored in the report. The chief critique of existing forms of penal labor was that the use of outdoor prison labor was an ineffective means of harnessing the manpower latent in subject bodies. Prior to the 1830s, prisoners were contracted out in the construction of infrastructural projects. Chain gangs labored on the roads, including the Grand Trunk Road, as well as other civic buildings, sometimes even participating in the construction of jails, which would later be used to contain them.<sup>25</sup> This practice was viewed as a “waste of money” because the cost of maintaining human life outside of the prison outweighed the economic benefit of using convict labor.<sup>26</sup> In addition to monetary concerns, outdoor labor exposed the public to the criminal classes and provided prisoners with opportunities to escape. The report encouraged shifting penal labor indoors to employ prisoners in “trades that will most readily pay for their maintenance.”<sup>27</sup> This shift in policy would have the double benefit of keeping prisoners who already knew trades busy along with teaching those who were unskilled something useful.

In 1843, a system of jail manufactures was authorized in Bengal, which quickly became the largest source of income for the Jails Department.<sup>28</sup> Yet despite this new influx of funding, the EIC could not afford to construct new prison buildings to facilitate greater production. Existing jail buildings were maintained and labor encouraged through the construction of temporary work sheds in the open spaces of the yards. The EIC's lackluster strategies for penal management were maintained in India until 1858, when the British government stepped in and replaced the EIC after the violent suppression of the Sepoy

Rebellion of 1857. With the government in power, administrators increased their involvement in the day-to-day operation of state institutions. The management of the penal system was now a central issue because efficient and productive jails were linked to greater state security.<sup>29</sup> The penal system could no longer continue the existing pattern of indifference and lack of uniformity.

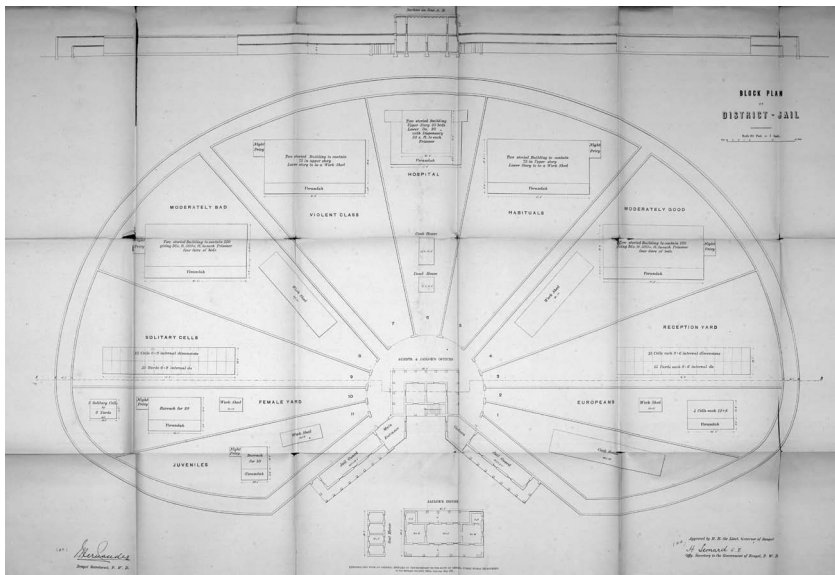
Officials began to increasingly emphasize both the economic benefit of jail manufactures and their reformatory potential as the means of improving the colonial penal system. The Inspector General of the Bengal Jails Department Fredric John Mouat championed penal labor characterizing it as *the* disciplinary course for India's penal system that would lead to lasting criminal rehabilitation.<sup>30</sup> Mouat claimed that the introduction of industrial production in Bengal's jails not only "[exercised] the intelligence as well as the muscular power of the individual," but also provided the prisoner with "knowledge of some handicraft which will enable him to earn his bread as an honest man, for the support of himself and his family."<sup>31</sup> Having discovered a benefit to large-scale imprisonment, colonial officials turned to the project of improving prison space and design in order to facilitate the introduction of industry.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, changes to the overall structures of existing jails along with plans for new construction began that paid special attention to the organization of the internal space of the jail and the industries produced there. Prisons built during this period were built using only *pukka* bricks, and the government employed draftsmen from the newly formed Public Works Department (PWD) to design and then implement a standard set of plans to be used for all future construction projects.<sup>32</sup> The PWD's involvement in the construction of Indian jails ascribed a level of legitimacy to the prison system and also advocated the construction of homogenous and rational jail buildings. The standard plans of these new jails attempted to organize the prison using a symmetrical and volumetrically balanced design. These new plans featured barracks built with identical dimensions placed securely in the center of perimeter walls, barracks for different classes of prisoners such as habitual, nonhabitual, juveniles, and women, spaces for separate and solitary confinement, detached observation towers, and verandahs for increased ventilation. Permanent workspaces were added to all plans, even in small subsidiary jail buildings. These workspaces were divided according to industry; prisoners would specialize in carpentry, weaving, blacksmithing, metal works, oil pressing, sewing, and even printing. Factory spaces began to be built in larger jails that occupied a central position of importance within the interior complex. This period represents a crucial phase in the history of Indian prisons wherein colonial penology was transformed bureaucratically, ideologically, and architecturally into the space historians have come to recognize as the modern colonial prison.

One of the most important changes to prison design was the widespread adoption of the radial plan, which had been introduced as a model for prison

layouts in England in the eighteenth century by the architect William Blackburn. In a radial plan, the wings of the jails are divided and arranged on a radius that converges in the center. A building such as the prison headquarters or superintendent's quarters would occupy the center of the radius, and the wings would be either attached to the center, detached from the center structure, or even be built as separate buildings. The adoption of the radial plan in the colonial setting structured the interior space of the prison in a way that was lacking in early articulations of jail space. Different wings were produced through large dividing walls, which enclosed yards where the barrack buildings along with workspaces would be located. The wings were used to classify and house criminal groups of different sizes. However, the colonial adoption of the radial plan did not work as a panopticon (no moral reform of prisoner in cellular spaces occurred). The radial plan was rather an articulated geometry that promised through its spatial ordering an effective disciplining of prisoners.

An example of the standard district model published in 1872 represents an interior arranged according to criminal proclivity, gender, and race (figure 2.5). Hospitals were also given their own wings in this layout. In larger central jails radial plans were also employed to facilitate the separation of factory from barrack (see figure 2.1). This privileging of factory space went on to provide order for all central jails in Bengal and then in other jails across India. Colonial prisons had at long last arrived at an infrastructural adjustment

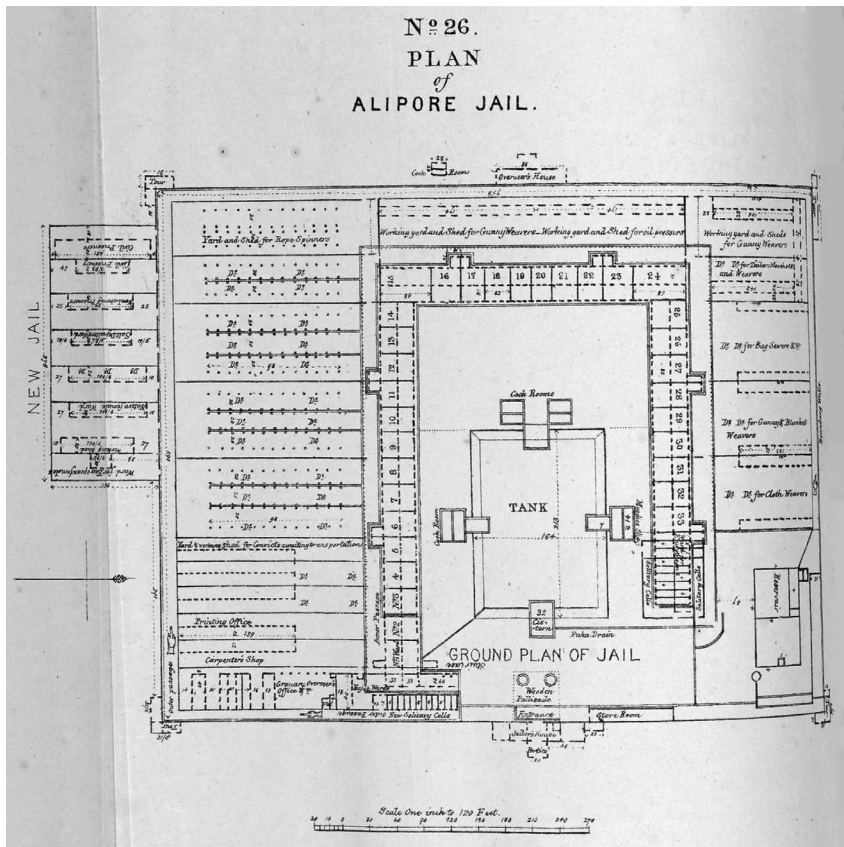


**Figure 2.5.** Block Plan for a District Jail, 1872 © The British Library Board (OIOC IOR/V/24/2073).

that would organize the incarceration experience in such a way so as to force colonial subjects to participate in capitalist venture.

### Infrastructure, Labor, and Reform

When English reformer Mary Carpenter traveled to India in 1866, she included prisons in her list of institutions to visit and make recommendations for reform.<sup>33</sup> She was unprepared for her encounter with a developing system of industry that had sprung up under the auspices of the British Raj. Carpenter visited the Alipore Central Jail, a prominent Bengal jail in Calcutta and the capital of the British Empire in India. Built in 1810, the Alipore Central Jail followed the older model of prison organization and thus lacked the centralized and divided spaces indicative of later radial planned prisons (figure 2.6). Nevertheless prison officials had retrofitted the jail with spaces to promote



**Figure 2.6.** Plan of the Alipore Jail, 1865 © The British Library Board (OIOC IOR/V/24/2065).

industry. The original space of the jail was made up of three rectangular buildings joined together to form a U-shaped structure that was enclosed by an exterior wall. Following the introduction of industries in 1843, yards and work sheds for rope spinners, bag sewers, gunny and blanket weavers, and oil pressers were built to span the exterior perimeter of the jail. An inside passage flanking the exterior edges of the U-shaped structure provided access to and from the wards and the work sheds, which also created the necessary separation between workspace and living space. At the front of the jail, carpenters' offices and printing offices were added to the left of the main entrance. Carpenter was escorted through the printing offices when she came to visit the jail, and it was here that she demonstrated her great enthusiasm for the "remarkable perfection of the skilled industrial work."<sup>34</sup>

Printing was one of the first industries to be introduced in Bengal's prisons. In 1857, Mouat established a small printing press to print the lithograph circulars for the Jails Department.<sup>35</sup> This endeavor grew over time and the government of Bengal took notice of the operation's success. In 1858, the government extended the responsibilities of the typographic department to the Alipore Printing Press, effectively eradicating the need for paid labor.<sup>36</sup> The jail had to be retrofitted to accommodate this new responsibility; a new block was built to house the printing sheds at the price of 88,052 rupees; the printing sheds were also extended, and a small type foundry was built.<sup>37</sup> Though the press found employment only for 116 convicts in its first year (1858–59), that figure grew rapidly more than doubling in number over the next five years.<sup>38</sup> In 1863–64, jail officials added steam power to the press to facilitate a greater output, making the Alipore Jail the first jail of its kind to combine a modern technology such as steam power with convict labor in India.<sup>39</sup>

This presence of industry within a disciplinary institution appealed to outsiders such as Carpenter, whose reforming zeal was governed by her Victorian predilection toward improving the less civilized. After observing Indian convicts at work on the presses she was delighted to report on the transformative quality of labor as "men, totally low and ignorant on their first admission, are taught the English letters in a month . . . they are carried on, step by step, through the different states, until they have arrived at as great perfection if they were English printers."<sup>40</sup> The act of laboring was simultaneously civilizing and modernizing as colonial subjects came closer to emulating their colonial masters. Carpenter goes on to suggest a kind of transcendent quality of prison industry, noting that, "in the various workshops there is so much apparent freedom, that I should not have imagined myself in a prison, were it not for the presence of the guard."<sup>41</sup> Such a sentiment rhetorically works to deemphasize the contradiction implicit in using incarcerated men as agents of capital. Among prominent colonial officials, there was no distinction between incarcerated subject labor and free subject labor, some even endorsed prison laborers as more productive than free native laborers.<sup>42</sup> Carpenter's words echo





different classes in the jail. A radial plan with wings constructed via dividing walls was employed at the center of the jail to house the general population of male prisoners. This arrangement separated the general population from the hospital and wards for juveniles, Europeans, and women, which were placed in the outer corners of the rhombus.

This initial plan was sketched without the woolen mill. However, a second plan clearly designates mill's future location near the main entrance to the complex, positioned in between the main wards, but separated by walls (see figure 2.1). The enclosure of the spinning mill in a separate wing of the jail away from the barracks forced prisoners to travel to another part of the jail during hours they were required to labor. Maintaining this separation was a chief priority of prison builders, and in smaller jails where *pucka* divisions could not be built, workspaces were separated from wards using wire netting, light bamboo, or wooden gratings.<sup>44</sup> The central placement of the mill was significant. Building the mill in a highly trafficked area of the jail not only assured easy access for all classes of prisoners with the exception of women, Europeans, and juveniles, but also positioned industry as the face of penal space. Any visitor to the jail, including new inmates, would be first exposed to the factory before viewing the rest of the jail.

Indeed the rigors of jail life were structured according to the rhythms of the factory. When a prisoner arrived at the prison, they were classified according to their capacity for labor. A doctor would evaluate the prisoner to see if they were healthy enough to serve out the labor sentence prescribed by the courts. Responsibility fell upon colonial officials to keep their workforce alive and productive. The government invested in prisoner health by forcing vaccinations on all new inmates.<sup>45</sup> Once the inmate was settled, his/her daily ritual was determined by factory time. In an effort to promote a salubrious environment, prisoners were forced to bathe once a day.<sup>46</sup> They would also participate in a parade system where bathing and the cleaning occurred at a specified times and locations, following visits to the latrine and after work and meals. Time was divided into homogenous units in order to deny the possibility of individualized action. Since human labor was reproducible, this process of maintenance promised future capital. Prisoners were commodified as their labor was exchanged in order to stay alive. Their forced participation in the industrial development of India contributed to the parasitic process of capital.

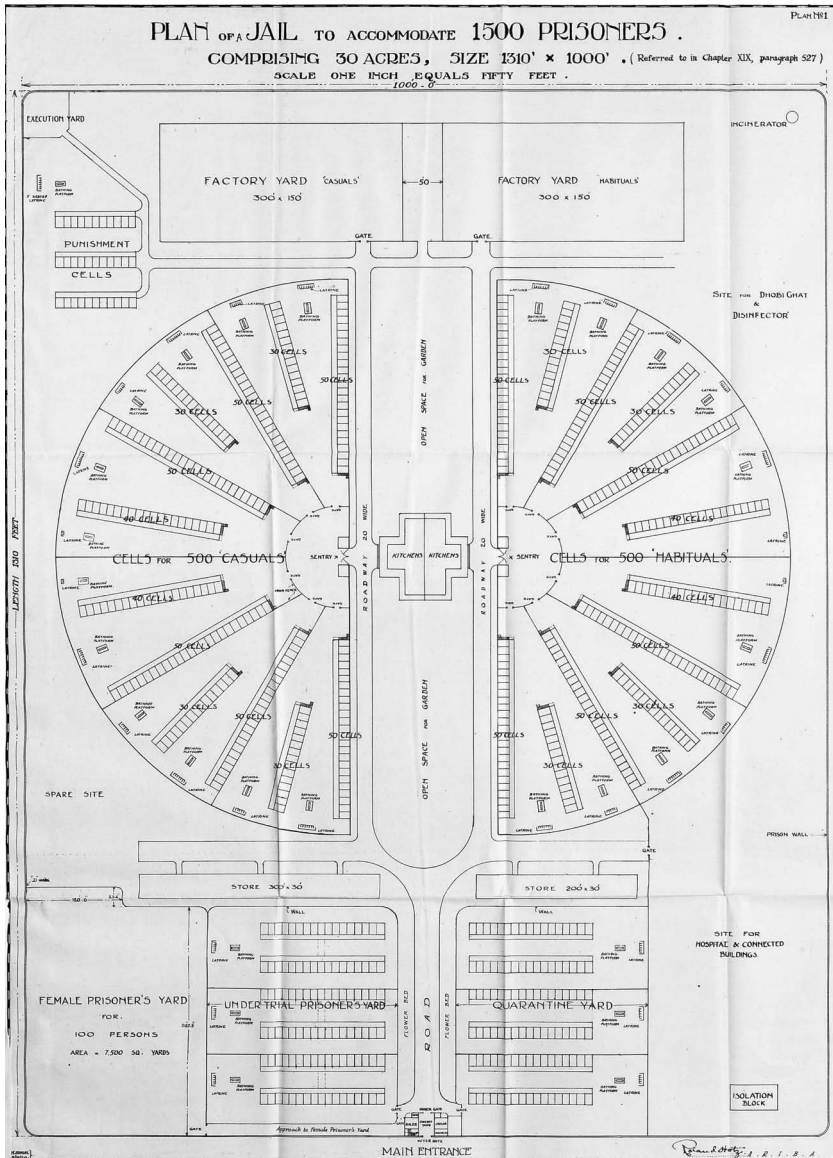
The government's investment in human life provided numerous advantages to the operation of colonial rule. By 1879, the *pucka* woolen factory at Bhagulpore and its extensions were completed, and the production of wool was up and running. Every aspect of the mill was connected to the capitalist-space of incarceration. Prisoners from other jail workshops had even built the looms used in the mill.<sup>47</sup> In its first year of operation prisoners in the mill manufactured 3,581 blankets and 709 *kurtas* (shirts).<sup>48</sup> Of those blankets, 2,000 were supplied to the commissary general for army use.<sup>49</sup> The mill grew

so rapidly that the number of prisoners working nearly doubled over the span of thirteen years; in 1895, 470 prisoners were employed in the mill and by 1908 there were 779.<sup>50</sup>

Officials were optimistic about the widespread benefit the introduction of industry would have on the local community, boasting that the mill would benefit the native sheep breeders as well as generally improve the quality of native wool.<sup>51</sup> Though there were initial concerns that the jail's location in Bihar was too far away from trading centers, the commitment to production became a valuable resource specifically during times of high crisis such as the late-nineteenth-century Afghan Wars when the government required a large surplus of woolen goods.<sup>52</sup> The mill even established a strong relationship with prominent Calcutta markets. Damaged blankets or those not utilized by the army were sent to the markets and disposed of at a low cost to the native consumer.<sup>53</sup>

By the mid-1880s, most of the central jails in Bengal had fixed industrial identities. In addition to the woolen mill at Bhagulpore and the printing press in Calcutta, there was a factory for gunny bags and blacksmithing at the Alipore Central Jail, a cotton mill at the Buxar Central Jail in Bihar, a factory for coir goods at the Midnapore Central Jail in West Bengal, and a factory for castor oil at the Rajshahye Central Jail in what is now Bangladesh. The Hazarigbagh Penitentiary in what is now the Indian state of Jharkhand operated as carpet mill. Industry was divided across a penal landscape, supplying a diverse collection of manufactures to be consumed among different echelons of society. Factory infrastructure was inextricably linked to the success of the prison, effectively eradicating the need for separate institutions. One later Bengal prison outside of Calcutta, the Dum Dum Central Jail, was even converted from a former ammunition factory into a prison in the late 1920s.<sup>54</sup> Prisons constructed and adapted during this period provided a model for prison architecture in India throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century.

A plan from 1920 of an ideal jail codified the infrastructural changes explored in Bengal during this late-nineteenth-century period of industrial development (figure 2.8). Prisons built in other parts of India such as Multan, Haripur, and at Nasik Road in Bombay followed this plan. This jail was designed to hold up to fifteen hundred inmates over an enclosed area of 23¼ acres, allocating 75 square yards per inmate. The plan employed a radial organization; the interior of the jail comprised semicircular groups of buildings. The most notable feature of this plan is the commitment to streamlined industry, facilitated through the separation of different classes of prisoners into different classes of workers. Separate factories were designated for casual and habitual criminals, which were accessed through roads twenty feet wide where prisoners from all wards would traffic through a central opening in parade passing by sentries and the kitchen. The commitment to industrial



**Figure 2.8.** Standard plan for a Central Jail (Cardew Committee), 1920 © The British Library Board (OIOC IOR/parl/2/407).

labor had effectively established a lasting program of prison discipline that regulated the daily experience of incarceration and dictated how to organize space. Prisoners and their labor power were commodified as necessary

components in the development of modern capital in India. Having articulated capitalist space, the government further encouraged commodification of the prison-industrial complex on the global stage.

### Commodity Value

Among the issues facing colonial officials and their system of penal labor was how to distribute the various goods produced in the jail in a fair and productive manner. In the 1870s, prison officials worked hard to ensure the circulation of jail goods among the public, along with positive representations of prisoners laboring to produce such goods.<sup>55</sup> It was the jailor's responsibility to be acquainted with the state of the market to ascertain how to best distribute jail goods. As an incentive for their participation, jailors received a 10 percent commission on the net profits from all jail manufactures in addition to their fixed salaries, though this rule was later abolished in the mid-1870s. Provincial rules even stipulated that a shop, with a sample of jail products, be constructed outside of the jail for the public to purchase jail goods.<sup>56</sup> In the event that no shop could be built, such goods would be sent to local bazaars.

Yet by the mid-1880s, the government had grown concerned that its active involvement in the development of industries in India might hinder private growth in the colony. As opposed to England, which was already thought of as "one vast factory," private industry in India was described as in its "infancy."<sup>57</sup> To prevent interference with the spontaneous growth of private industries, the government declared in 1882 that prisoner labor "need not be made as profitable as possible."<sup>58</sup> The government went on to mandate that the goods produced by convict labor should be sold only in predetermined sectors, particularly those sectors of government consumption. Ultimately, the government failed to realize just how important industrial labor had become to the disciplinary structure of colonial prisons. In 1886, the government retracted its 1882 resolution after protest from jail superintendents who had grown comfortable with the revenue jail manufactures provided. This decision alienated Indian industrialists from the government for failing to protect the development of their industries.<sup>59</sup> Prison-made goods continued to circulate in the market well into the twentieth century, despite efforts to control and limit their influence.<sup>60</sup> The Bhagulpore Central Jail even came under direct criticism in 1912 when the members of the Bangalore Woolen Cotton and Silk Mills, Ltd., in the Madras Presidency filed an official complaint with the government claiming that the jail mill deprived them of business, monopolized the market on raw materials, and controlled the market of distribution for both flawed and nonflawed goods.

Jail-made goods were well received both in India and abroad. The government could sell the goods at a cheaper cost than private industrialists because

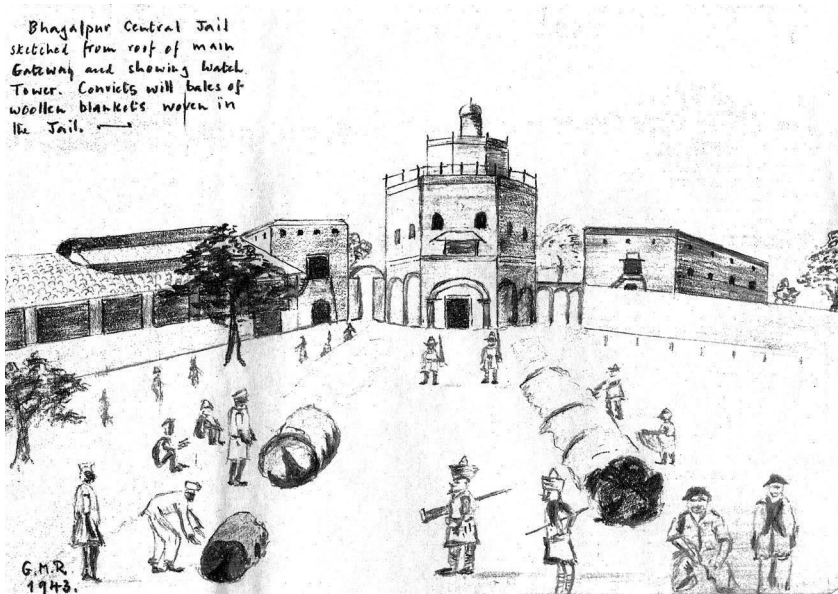
there was little overhead to include in the purchase price. Jail-made goods were a novelty among European audiences. Displayed at world exhibitions, they emphasized the reformatory power of British intervention in managing the criminal classes of their subject population. Carpets, silk, and cashmere were among the most popular commodities that appealed to Western audiences. These goods were sent to world exhibitions such as the 1873 Weltausstellung (World's Fair) in Vienna to display the fine craftsmanship of the prisoners and the transformative power of prisoner labor.

Alongside those goods would be photographs of the convicts who had labored to produce the objects. Photographs taken by the photographic studio Michie and Company were part of the Department of Archeological Survey's exhibition display. These photographs depict prisoners laboring on carpets and serve as evidence of jail labor's participation in the space of consumption. These prisoners were confined in the Karachi Jail, in what is now Pakistan. These photographs provide an interesting record of the capitalist space of production. One photograph represents a long horizontal line of weavers extending into the background in order to suggest the physical permanency of prison labor, as many prisoners appear visibly settled in their assigned labor (figure 2.9). The image below focuses on a few prisoners engrossed in their work. And though the prisoners are meant to appear exotic with their unfamiliar dress, that exoticness is downplayed by the uniform action captured by the supervisory frame of the camera. The jail, as the geographical location of this labor, is recalled in the photographs in order to refer to the permanency of the jail establishment and the labor it supplies. Permanent *pukka* walls designate the space of weaving at Karachi. The productivity of jail labor is also emphasized through the visible documentation of goods made in the jails. Finished carpets and carpet fragments surround the convict workers in the images. These images represent the new spatial order of colonial jail space. Labor has filled the lived space of the prison, ordering the jail according to rational and productive activity.

Visual documentation of industrious prisoners is further proof of the totality of the industrial transformation of the colonial prison. Yet these images do more than just represent prisoners laboring. These images were commodity objects fetishized on the global stage. These abstracted representations of labor were given value when spectators consumed them. These photographs also have recursive potential, for in representing prisoners as productive, they structured the way that viewers thought about and responded to the organization of colonial society represented in the exhibition. With the help of these photographs, India was represented in Vienna as a subservient colony whose criminal classes were made productive through colonial capitalist intervention. Situated within this visual culture, the prison emerged as a critical architectural space for both punishment and economic development of the so-called primitive societies.



**Figure 2.9.** Carpet weavers in Karachi Jail taken by Michie and Company, from the Archaeological Survey of India Collections, 1873, © The British Library Board (OIOC Photo 1000/52(4906)) and Carpet weavers in Karachi Jail, working on carpet sent to the Vienna Exhibition, from the Archaeological Survey of India Collections, 1873, © The British Library Board (OIOC Photo 1000/52(4907)).



**Figure 2.10.** Sketch of the Bhagalpore Central Jail done by the Superintendent Gordan M. Ray, 1943 © The British Library Board (OIOC Mss Eur F 256/6).

### Conclusion

Prison industries continued to proliferate within Bengal jails even as the power of the British Raj waned. A private journal of one of the Bhagalpore Central Jail's last British superintendents, Gordan M. Ray, contains personal impressions of the operation of industry within the jail.<sup>61</sup> Saved within the journal is a letter from Rutherford F. Mudie, governor of Bihar, who praised the jail for its resemblance to a "full-fledged factory."<sup>62</sup> Indeed Ray's own recollection of the jail characterizes it as a successful and prosperous woolen mill. Ray's amateur sketch from 1943 of the work yard near the factory represents a harmonious space of labor (figure 2.10). Prisoners roll bales of woolen blankets manufactured in the jail, while guards who double as factory overseers watch the prisoners in their labor. Labor appears "naturalized" as an everyday component of jail life.

Prisons in colonial India, through the introduction of industrial labor, helped shape a modern capitalist landscape in which institutions would remake native subjects into workers, subjecting them to the behaviors and practices of Western modernity under the watchful eye of the state. In other words, the prison assumed "the dimension of an *'organized project for the subaltern social world'*: a model to impose, spread and universalize" that would encourage production and manufacture necessary for sustaining empire."<sup>63</sup> Prison

architecture encouraged processes of capital through the introduction of factory space and the division of labor and living space, which in turn shaped the daily experience of the inmates. These men and women, who were never free to sell their labor, became crucial components in the production and flow of colonial capital. In circumventing fundamental aspects of the Marxian scheme of capital, the colonial prison in India effectively produced a capitalist system that invalidated the need for free labor. This system ultimately presents capital as a nonhegemonic force that is not contingent on the consent of those it dominates.

### Notes

1. I wish to thank Patrick D. Haughey for inviting me to participate in the Eighth Savannah Symposium, which provided a venue for exploring the subject of this chapter, and for his invitation to contribute to this anthology. I also wish to thank Swati Chattopadhyay, who provided critical feedback in the preparation of this writing. I am grateful to the British Library for giving me permission to reproduce images from its collection.
2. Though the practice of confinement had existed in India in various manifestations, dating as far back as the third century BCE, the institution that the British imagined and constructed was decidedly different from prior usages. Though fairly uncommon, imprisonment was employed as a disciplinary strategy to detain rebels, hold people before trials, and force individuals to pay fines under Buddhist, Hindu, and Muslim regimes. Other modes of punishment including execution, fines, mutilation, and physical torture were far more typical. David Arnold, "India: The Contested Prison," *Cultures of Confinement: A History of the Prison in Africa, Asia, and Latin America* ed. Frank Dikötter and Ian Brown, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007), 147.
3. Frank Dikötter, "Introduction," *Cultures of Confinement: A History of the Prison in Africa, Asia, and Latin America*, ed. Frank Dikötter and Ian Brown, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007), 2.
4. The British did not conceive of Indian society as a society where men were born equal. Indeed, the British positioned Indian society outside of rationality and reason. Informing this idea was the work of philosophers such as James Mill, who, in his 1818 work *The History of British India*, described Indian society as stagnant, identifying it as a stalled civilization in a historical state of infancy. Other liberal thinkers following Mill, including Thomas Babington Macaulay and Mill's son John Stuart Mill, perpetuated the theme of childhood when describing India. This rhetorical subjugation became a dominant means of justifying the colonial project in India. British thinkers used the caste system in India as further evidence that Indians were not born equal and did not mutually possess the level of reason natural to men from England. Thus British colonization was characterized as an essential process critical to the modernization of Indian society.
5. For more on the reform of the English prison system see Robin Evans' *The Fabrication of Virtue: English Prison Architecture 1750–1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).
6. According to Marx the worker "must have [labour-power] at his own disposal, he must be the free proprietor of his own labour-capacity, hence of his



- person . . . [and] must rather be compelled to offer for sale as a commodity that very labour-power which exists only in his living body." Karl Marx, *Capital Volume 1* (London: Penguin Books Ltd, 1990), 271–2.
7. Marx, *Capital Volume 1*, 152.
  8. Dikötter, "Introduction," 1.
  9. John Stuart Mill, *Considerations on Representative Government* (Ontario: Batoche Books Limited, 1861), 29.
  10. Marx, *Capital Volume 1*, 132, Karl Marx, "The Future Results of British Rule in India," *New-York Daily Tribune*, August 8, 1853; reprinted in the *New-York Semi-Weekly Tribune*, No. 856, August 9, 1853, and Karl Marx, "The British Rule in India," *New-York Daily Tribune*, June 25, 1853. Of course Marx, like other Europeans, was inaccurate in his assessment of all non-European regions of the world. India was far from primitive, with the ability to produce high-quality textiles in large numbers long before the arrival of the EIC in 1602.
  11. Vinay Gidwani, *Capital, Interrupted: Agrarian Development and the Politics of Work in India* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), xix–xx.
  12. Dario Melossi and Massimo Pavarini, *The Prison and the Factory: Origins of the Penitentiary System*, trans. Glynis Cousin (London: MacMillian Press, Ltd. 1981), 148.
  13. *Ibid.*, 143–4.
  14. Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment: Philosophical Fragments*, ed. Gunzelin Schid Noerr, trans. Edmund Jephcott, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), 188.
  15. *Ibid.*
  16. Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Rethinking Working-Class History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989).
  17. The East India Company (EIC) considered the types of punishments, including death, amputation, mutilation, and torture practiced under Mughal to be inhumane. John Mulvany, "Bengal Jails in Early Days," *Calcutta Review* n.s. 6, no. 292 (1918): 293–4 and David Arnold, "The Colonial Prison: Power Knowledge, and Penology in Nineteenth-Century India," *A Subaltern Studies Reader*, ed. Ranjit Guha (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 150.
  18. Older forms of punishment were replaced with sentences of imprisonment with hard labor, while impalement was abolished in 1790 and mutilation abolished in 1793. Nevertheless, the new penal system still employed physical punishments in tandem with imprisonment, and public displays of violence continued well into the early part of the nineteenth century. These public displays of violence included flogging, banishment, transportation, hanging, and the practice of *Goonda* or tattooing criminals for public exposure. These practices continued into the nineteenth century. Pick-pockets were hanged until 1808, women were publicly flogged until 1817, the pillory was used until 1837, and the practice of *Goonda* was employed as late as 1849. Mulvany, "Bengal Jails in Early Days," 295–6.
  19. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, colonial jails provided permanent accommodation for only 10,000 prisoners, less than a third of the actual space required. *Ibid.*, 297.
  20. The *Faujdari* jails were spaces that housed prisoners awaiting trial for criminal matters. The *Faujdari Adlats* were the courts and were overseen by the

- Nazim* (judicial minister) who administered criminal justice. The *Diwan* (financial minister) oversaw the civil and revenue matters, but this domain was eventually subsumed under the authority of the *Nazim*. Niharkana Majumdar, *Justice and Police in Bengal, 1765–1793: A Study of the Nizamat in Decline* (Calcutta: K L Mukhopadhyay Publishers, 1960), 40–42, 290–3.
21. As late as 1865, some jails in the Bengal presidency like those in Pubna, Chaibasa, and Cherrapunji lacked the permanent exterior wall that would confine prisoners to the interior of the jail.
  22. For example, the jail at Rajshahi was destroyed by a wind storm in 1787, while in 1789 a fire destroyed the *Faujdari* jail in Chaplia. Majumdar, *Justice and Police in Bengal*, 246–50.
  23. W. H. Mangles, “Prison Discipline in Bengal,” *Calcutta Review* 23, no. 24 (1854): 119.
  24. Members of the Committee on Prison Discipline, formed on January 2, 1836, included Henry Shakspear who presided over the committee, Edward Ryan, Thomas Babington Macaulay, John Peter Grant, Benjamin Health Malkin, Charles Hay Cameron, John Macpherson Macleod, Frederick Millet, Charles Barwell, William Hay Macnaghten, David Macfarlan, Charles Edward Trevelyan, and John Peter Grant. The committee also examined the effects of punishment, reform, diet, physical and moral conditions, and proper modes of discipline. The report contained recommendations for the systematic classification of prisoners, the removal of prisoners’ luxuries, the replacement of money allowances with food rations, the replacement of outdoor road labor with intramural work, and the implementation of separate and solitary confinement. OIOC IORV/26/170/1 *Report of the (Shakspear) Committee on Prison-Discipline, 1838* (Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1838).
  25. Report of the (Shakspear) Committee on Prison-Discipline, 1838, 45, 49.
  26. *Ibid.*, 54.
  27. *Ibid.*, 105.
  28. Sanchari Dutta, *Disease and Medicine in Indian Prisons: Confinement in Colonial Bengal, 1860–1910*. Dissertation. Oxford University, 2008, 199.
  29. In the decades that followed the assumption of power by the British crown, a number of all-India prison committees and conferences (1864, 1877, 1889, 1892, 1919–20) were formed to investigate and establish a standard set of rules for prison management.
  30. In Mouat’s system of prison discipline, labor was the conduit to economic security for both the prison and prisoner as well as a force of reform and knowledge. He believed that prisons should be made to pay and argued that industrial labor was an adequate form of penal labor. F. J. Mouat, *Prison Industry: The Foundation of Prison Discipline and of the Reformation of Criminals* (London: Spottiswoode & Co., 1873), 11.
  31. *Ibid.*, 8.
  32. In 1855, the government of India created the PWD, effectively establishing a branch of government that would be responsible for all public infrastructure. The projects that fell under the control of the PWD included the construction of irrigation canals, railways, and their various accompanying buildings, roads, post and telegraph offices, housing for government servants, civil buildings, courthouses, police stations, and finally jails. Peter Scriver, “Empire Building and Thinking in the Public Works Department of British

- India," *Colonial Modernities Building, Dwelling and Architecture in British India and Ceylon*, ed. Peter Scriver and Vikramaditya Prakash (New York: Routledge, 2007), 78.
33. Mary Carpenter, whose dream it had been to visit India since meeting Raja Ram Mohan Roy in 1833, arrived in India in 1866 in order to assist in the reform of women's education in India. Although her primary interest was education reform for women, she became interested in Indian jails because she perceived the conditions of female prisoners to be completely inadequate. Carpenter went on to publicly criticize the use of shackles in prisons, prison overcrowding, communal sleeping arrangements, and the lack of moral education or education for young men to facilitate reform. Mary Carpenter, *Six Months in India* (London: Spittswood and Co., 1868).
  34. Carpenter, *Six Months in India*, 200.
  35. John Mulvany, "The Story of the Alipore Jail Press," *Calcutta Review* 17, no. 289 (1917): 229.
  36. *Ibid.*, 246.
  37. *Ibid.*
  38. *Ibid.*, 236–7.
  39. *Ibid.*, 237.
  40. Carpenter, *Six Months in India*, 200.
  41. *Ibid.*
  42. Frederic John Mouat claimed that though certain circumstances differed between free and incarcerated labor, both types of laborers had the capacity to do equal work. He argued that free men had to pay for their maintenance and that of their families as well as attend to household duties. Prison laborers were deprived of the stimuli of liberty, but had all their wants needs supplied, freeing them from the worries of self-maintenance. Because prisoners' needs were met Mouat believed that they could achieve the same amount of labor as a free man, despite the lack of liberty. Fredric J. Mouat, *Reports on Jails Visited and Inspected in Bengal, Behar, and Arracan* (Calcutta: Carabery Military Orphan Press, 2010), 41, 185.
  43. OIOC IOR/V/24/2071 Annual Administrative Report of the Jails of the Lower Provinces, Bengal Presidency for the year 1871, 198.
  44. OIOC IOR/V/26/170/2. The report of the committee appointed under the orders of the governor-general in council to enquire into certain matters connected with jail administration in India, 1889, 14.
  45. It became mandatory for prisoners in Bengal to receive a smallpox vaccination as early as 1855, while the rest of India still resisted the introduction of Western vaccination. And by 1906 it was considered an illegal punishable offense for a prisoner to refuse vaccination. OIOC IOR/P/1906, 8 and Arnold, *Colonizing the Body: State Medicine and Epidemic Disease in Nineteenth-Century India*, 102.
  46. OIOC IOR/V/28/170/2 Jail Administration in India (Walker and Lethbridge) Committee, 1889, 20.
  47. OIOC IOR/V/24/2077 Annual Report on the Administration of Jails of the Bengal Presidency, 1879, 33.
  48. *Ibid.*
  49. *Ibid.*
  50. *Ibid.*

51. OIOC IOR/P/256 *Proceedings Jails*, 1873, 104.
52. OIOC IOR/ V/28/170/2 *Jail Administration in India* (Walker and Lethbridge) *Committee* 1888–89, (Calcutta, 1889), 122.
53. OIOC IOR/ L/PJ/6/1002 *Judicial and Public Annual Files*, 1912, file 1440.
54. OIOC IOR/V/26/170/3 *Report of the Bengal Jails Enquiry Committee*, 1927, 18.
55. OIOC IOR/ V/27/171/10 *Rules for the Superintendence and Management of Jails in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency*, 20 June 1876, 55.
56. Ibid.
57. OIOC IOR/L/PJ/6/158 *Judicial and Public Annual files*, 1885, file 1284.
58. OIOC IOR/L/PJ/6/85 *Judicial and Public Annual files*, 1882, file 1884.
59. Dutta, *Disease and Medicine in Indian Prisons*, 223–4.
60. OIOC IOR/ L/PJ/6/1002 *Judicial and Public Annual Files*, 1912, file 1440.
61. OIOC/Mss Eur F 256/6
62. Ibid.
63. Melossi and Pavarini, *The Prison and the Factory*, 149. (Italics added by author)



# Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

# The City as Business Plan: Baťa from Batangar to the Calcutta Riverside

*Markéta Březovská*

## **The Baťa Shoe Company and Its Empire**

The concept of modernity transforming the urban environment occurs in various locations and across eras. Sometimes, it even rewrites its own traces within one place in the course of time. Batanagar in India, one of the famous planned Baťa cities, is currently being transformed from a company town (a place of production) into Calcutta Riverside, a new city-venture (a place of consumption). Owing to various circumstances, the Baťa Shoe Company has entered a new domain in the 2000s: instead of producing and selling shoes, it has joined the real estate market, producing and selling new lifestyles. Surprisingly, features of both models are quite similar. This very specific case study illustrates the general tendencies of socioeconomic transformation in the broader context of a globalized world, including the topics of identity, heritage, image, branding, labor, outsourcing, exclusion, lifestyle, postcolonialism, just space, and new towns. One such example is the case of an Indian town, Batanagar, and its successor, Calcutta Riverside.<sup>1</sup>

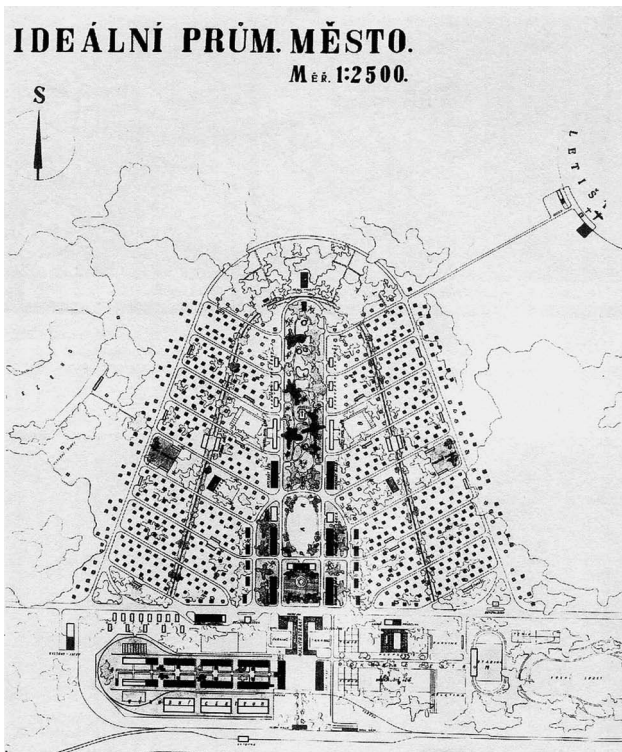
The Baťa Shoe Company was founded in 1894 by Tomáš Baťa and his two siblings in Zlín, a town situated in the former Austrian-Hungarian Empire (later Czechoslovakia; today, the Czech Republic). At the beginning of the twentieth century, new methods and means of production, communication, and international transportation joined the new territorial demands of the Western world, and the Baťa Shoe Company became a major player in the growth and development of international trade. By the late 1920s, as one of the earliest multinational manufacturers, Baťa became the largest footwear exporter in the world.<sup>2</sup>

The company's expansion and its global footprint were fueled by a broad geopolitical context, including the end of colonialism, the growth of world trade and the international division of labor. Following the goal of creating

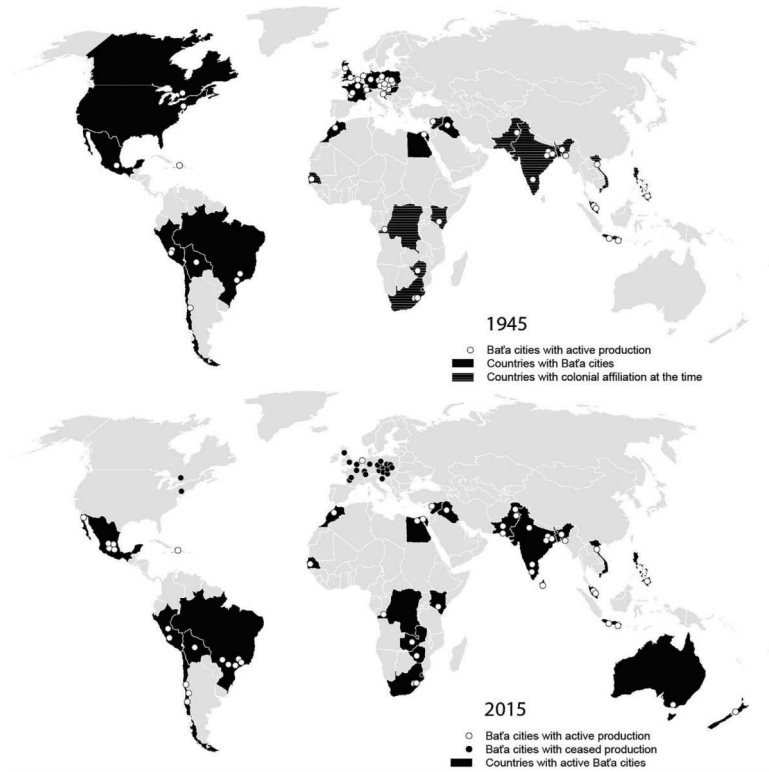
an international shoe empire that would rule the market, together with its civilizing mission to “shoe the world,” the Baťa Shoe Company built, throughout the twentieth century, a network of more than seventy corporate towns.<sup>3</sup>

The company’s shoe manufacturing methods mirrored popular concepts of the early twentieth century—Fordism and Socialism. Its methods extended beyond the production of shoes to the planning and establishment of new towns. Baťa Company towns blended repetitive planning elements with modern architecture, social engineering and marketing strategies, along with the production and trading of shoes. These towns were based on the model of an “ideal industrial city” developed in Zlín in the late 1920s that was from the 1930s on mass-produced and exported (figure 3.1).<sup>4</sup>

In addition to the conscious integration of architectural modernism, Baťa also employed a social reform-oriented planning approach combined with the introduction of high standard living conditions and new consumption practices. These goals together with the capitalist management methods and the



**Figure 3.1.** Ideal industrial city plan—European model (ČR-MZA—Brno, SOKA Zlín, Baťa).



**Figure 3.2.** Baťa's worldwide expansion in time and space 1930s–1945 and Baťa's new orientation toward South after the World War II, 1945–2015 (Markéta Březovská, 2015).

new production and distribution models formed the ideological matrix of the company's profile. Using both its shoes and planned towns, Baťa brought into these new, often postcolonial, localities a certain lifestyle and culture closely tied to contemporary European modernity. The newly imposed system gave these places a specific identity, character and structure that strongly shaped life in them and further informed the spaces, both local and global, of production and trade. Over time and under different local conditions, political contexts, and societal transformation processes, the Baťa towns went through dramatic changes, often facing an unspecified future (figure 3.2).

### Batangar and Baťa's India

Batanagar was founded in 1934, as the Baťa Company's first satellite outside Europe, and as the first town in a country with a colonial affiliation.<sup>5</sup> It is located in the metropolitan area of Calcutta in the Indian state of West



Bengal.<sup>6</sup> Since the 2000s, it is being replaced by a new city-venture model, Calcutta Riverside, where actual production of shoes is strictly separated from production of lifestyle. The footprints left there by the Baťa Corporation, in both the architecture and patterns of everyday life are now being rewritten by a new corporate culture. The understanding and appearance of imported modernity have changed; nevertheless, these models have more in common than it might seem at first glance.

Baťa's engagement in India, particularly in West Bengal and Calcutta, is, like the history of the local footwear industry, complex. West Bengal has always been a center of Indian leather processing and production.<sup>7</sup> During the first half of the nineteenth century, the indigenous leather industry retained much of its rural character; its organization of production was inefficient and uneconomical, with little or no openness to modern methods and techniques. It was based on a three-tier economic division: the export of hides and skins, the curing and tanning of leather stock, and the manufacture of goods.<sup>8</sup> This traditional form of production in rural areas was broken by the effect of external competition and the beginnings of industrialization, which ultimately led to its urbanization.<sup>9</sup> With the arrival of the British East India Company and later, the railroad, Calcutta became the center of urban trade.

World War I perfected the reorganization of the leather industry in India and offered a stable market serving the needs of the armies of various countries. By 1928, there were ten factories with imported machinery in Calcutta: eight tanneries and two facilities for manufacturing shoes, five of which were still owned by Europeans.<sup>10</sup> On the contrary, in the northern suburbs of the city flourished workshops owned by Punjabi Muslims who employed *muchis*, people of indigenous origin who were traditionally extremely skilled in shoemaking. According to a government report on domestic industries in Bengal, even the European companies requisitioned their services.<sup>11</sup> This probably marks the emergence of a local network of subcontracting relationships.<sup>12</sup>

The Baťa Shoe Company, by this point the largest manufacturer and exporter of footwear in the world, was the first multinational enterprise that began to trade and later also to produce leather and footwear in India. Baťa was attracted to British-ruled India due to radical transformations of the domestic and international market in form of the growing potential of trade with/in colonial territories on the one hand, and the worsening economic relations in Europe on the other. The company's prosperity in Europe was under pressure from the ever-growing demands of employees for wage increases, early problems with trade unions, the emergence of the transnational movement against company expansion, and the introduction of new national laws and import duties on Baťa shoes.<sup>13</sup> These aspects forced Baťa to search for new markets and to establish new manufacturing facilities not only throughout continental Europe and Great Britain, but also overseas.

The Baťa's interest in India was first piqued by its local sources of raw materials and the enormous demand for shoes in a nation, which had for centuries walked barefoot. The slogan "Let us not be afraid of the future!" echoed the company's philosophy which combined the production and selling of consumer goods with a civilizing mission for 300 million people.<sup>14</sup> The advantages of Calcutta combined proximity to sources of raw material, skilled cobblers and its already advanced trading facilities. Calcutta, since its founding in the early seventeenth century by the English East Company, was a premier port served by different railways, and thus offered manufacturers and traders competitive freight rates and simpler procedures for making and receiving estimates. These advantages were unavailable to a town in the interior. As a port and trading town, it also attracted migrant labor and foreign companies.<sup>15</sup>

Baťa was at once welcomed here with open arms, as there were indeed already manifold cultural, economic and political relations between India and the young Czechoslovak Republic. Baťa's choice of Calcutta was driven by the facts that the city was by that time a center of modern education, science, culture, politics, business, and as mentioned earlier, the leather industry in India.<sup>16</sup> In addition, the West Bengal elite striving for national independence saw Czechoslovakia as a role model. This was especially true after 1911 when, due to growing nationalism and antipathy against British in West Bengal, after the capital city of British India was moved to New Delhi. Calcutta began a boycott of all British products, and the local market was in favor of new investment capital of non-English origin.<sup>17</sup> After the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918, Czechoslovakia arguably became the most successful democratic country in Central Europe. The Czech public took India's bid for independence seriously. The opening of the Czech Consulate in Mumbai in 1921 and the establishment of the Oriental Institute in Prague in 1922, contributed greatly to the intensive exchange of researchers between the two countries. The Bengali poet and first Asian Nobel Prize laureate, Rabindranath Tagore visits Prague in 1921 and 1926. Jawaharlal Nehru, the author of the 1929 *Declaration of Independence* and the first prime minister of India visits Zlín on the eve of the German occupation in 1938.<sup>18</sup>

### The Production of Batangar

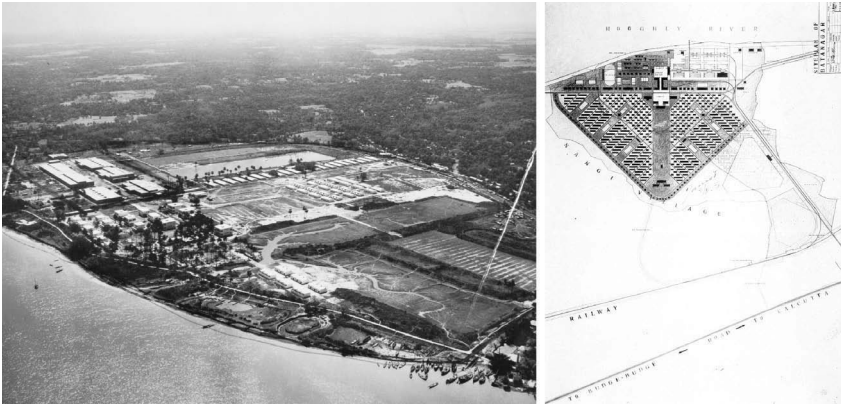
At the beginning of 1925, company founder Tomáš Baťa traveled to India for the first time to study the rawhide market and tanneries in Calcutta. He then went on to Agra, Lahore, and South India to inspect future supplies at the rubber plantations. During this year, exports from India to Czechoslovakia increased and by the end of 1925, the first shoes made in Zlín arrived in India.<sup>19</sup> After another survey of local markets, business conditions, and the political situation, Baťa realized how profitable it would be to locate the entire

business here.<sup>20</sup> The subsidiary company in India was incorporated as “Bata Shoe Company Limited” on December 23, 1931 under the Companies Act of 1913, with its registered office in Calcutta, West Bengal.<sup>21</sup> Tomáš Baťa’s next visit to India, departing December 10, 1931 from Otrokovice, Czechoslovakia, was the first business trip—a flying expedition undertaken by a continental European entrepreneur to establish a new business cooperation in Asia. Tomáš Baťa arrived in West Bengal at the beginning of 1932 with the main goal of personally choosing a location for the new company town.<sup>22</sup>

Baťa chose a site on a regularly flooded plain about a mile wide and a mile and a half long, on the riverbank of the Hooghly river about ten miles from Calcutta (figure 3.3). Searching for the ideal spot for Batanagar, Baťa followed the proven strategy of locating the new factory town in the vicinity of important cities (Calcutta is still the capital of West Bengal and the third largest city in India), but far enough away to keep the uninformed rural population uninvolved in real urban city life. The Baťa Company retained the privilege of educating and training locals itself, ensuring thus a long-term monopoly on the production of a cheap and loyal labor. This practice of implementing a social regime of benefits and control has been described by Sharon Zukin, using as examples the first company towns in the early stages of the Industrial Revolution in England.<sup>23</sup>

Batanagar, like all Baťa company towns was positioned to take advantage of three existing local infrastructures; the river Hooghly (a western distributary of the river Ganges), the railway, and the Budge Budge Road, the main motorway connection to Calcutta. The construction of the township, based on plans (figure 3.3) by the company’s architect and planner František Lydie Gahura, began after Tomáš Baťa’s death under the direction of his stepbrother, Jan Antonín Baťa, in 1934.<sup>24</sup> On October 28, 1934, the foundation stone of Batanagar was laid on land purchased from the Port Commissioners and local small private landowners.<sup>25</sup> In 1936, the construction of the production plant and the tannery was finished and the factory started to produce its first leather shoes.<sup>26</sup> Batanagar gained municipal independence and in the scope of its claims to being a self-sufficient city Baťa bought more land to build schools, chapels, temples, hospitals entertainment and recreation centers. He set up open-air fields for sport and leisure activities.

The 1930s Batanagar represented the tropical interpretation of Baťa architects’ vision of the functional city. It featured strict spatial separation between walled factory premises, a walled managers’ colony with generous villas, and workers’ accommodations, differentiated according to social strata.<sup>27</sup> The typology of these buildings included supervisors’ terraced houses, simpler two-story row houses, single-story barracks-like houses, and dormitories for single men and trainees (figure 3.4, left image). The size and comfort of individual buildings and their distance from the heart of the city – the factory, signaled the social, economic and caste hierarchy. Unlike the individual



**Figure 3.3.** Aerial view of Batanagar from North, 1937 (ČR-MZA—Brno, SOkA Zlín, Baťa, XV, inv. no. 203) and Siteplan of Batanagar from 1937, showing three main infrastructures and leaf-like zoning (ČR-MZA—Brno, SOkA Zlín, Baťa, XV, inv. no. 1114e).



**Figure 3.4.** Modern dormitories, 1936 (ČR-MZA—Brno, SOkA Zlín, Baťa, XV, inv. no. 203) and a typical villa for one manager's family in the European colony (Markéta Březovská, 2012).

housing of European Baťa cities, local houses for employees were generally row houses referencing the traditional Asian “long house.” Oblong, single-story houses with covered verandas accommodated three to six families of ordinary employees. The spacious two-story villas of managers were located in the so-called European colony with a swimming pool, clubhouse and library (figure 3.4, right image).

The factory complex consisted of buildings built in a standardized module of reinforced concrete columns of  $30 \times 30$  cm in a  $6.15 \times 6.15$  meters grid, with

flat roofs, large glazing and red masonry infill made from local river clay (figure 3.8). High ceilings, large windows and skylights guaranteed all workshops sufficient light and ventilation—in order “to make a working place, in which the man spends one-third of a day, the happiest place for the worker.”<sup>28</sup> The factory included all facilities needed for production and trade of shoes—leather workshops, rubber workshops, machine works, engineering, electricians, a chemical laboratory, a printing shop, storage of raw material and finished products, sales and purchase departments and directorate. Workshops and offices were equipped with primitive air conditioning, telephones and running drinking water. Each department was led by a manager who had risen from the ranks of the workers.<sup>29</sup>

New methods of manufacturing and management, including a comprehensive enforcement system of personal responsibility and private initiative, were inspired by the company founder's trips to the United States, where he became acquainted with Henry Ford's plants.<sup>30</sup> The production of shoes was newly broken down into small units and every single procedure optimized in such a manner that it could be integrated into the assembly line. This system of control, monitoring and systematic planning of each worker's movement within the line is up to date the most effective and most used system in the shoe industry (figure 3.5). Further, the company's corporate vertical integration system of management combined all production steps, from the processing of raw materials and manufacturing goods, through marketing, to sales of the end product. Baťa's system of “cooperation” focused on self-governance of the individual workshops and transferred responsibility for the quality and



**Figure 3.5.** Batanagar employees coming to work, 1944 (ČR-MZA—Brno, SOKA Zlín, Baťa, XV, inv. no. 903).



**Figure 3.6.** Workers at the Batanagar assembly line, 1935 (ČR-MZA—Brno, SOKA Zlín, Baťa, XV, inv. no. 202).

quantity of production, as well as the share of profit or loss of the units, to the employees (figure 3.6).

Alongside the factory premises, houses, and accommodations with modern fittings, Batanagar also offered schools, shopping centers, communal facilities, a post office, hospital, museum, cinema, and sports and religious facilities (two temples, a mosque, and a chapel). The—often individually designed—public buildings were of great importance to Baťa, as they played an essential role in the social life of the company community. As in its other satellites, here too, Baťa shaped the rhythm of everyday life in the town. Material incentive systems and the creation of a widely ramified company social system—with the provision of company-owned housing, a wide variety of cultural and sport facilities, and schools and hospitals on the one hand, and a high degree of physical and mental strain in the working process on the other hand—constituted the main pillars of the Baťa system. So-called Batism can be characterized as an autocratically paternalistic management, within the company as within the city. Trade unions were prohibited and any representation of workers' interests was reduced to an internal company matter.

A corporate identity was introduced to employees and their families—not a natural or God-given identity, but a carefully constructed and, in a sense, manufactured corporate product.<sup>31</sup> The company's internal and external media infrastructure was based on a comprehensive network of media, including radio, film, telephone, gramophone, newspapers, photography and its own

network of department stores.<sup>32</sup> The purpose of this whole media network was, on the one hand, to convey the exemplary nature of the modern town to the outside world, and on the other, to contribute to the internal information and mediation between departments, plants, shops, and satellites. The company's newspaper, *Batanagar News*, presented both observations of the everyday life of the company town as well as reports from abroad (figure 3.7).<sup>33</sup> The daily cinema program, in addition to showing advertising campaigns and ideological films (produced by the company's own film studios in Zlín) also offered entertaining Indian movies and the latest international blockbusters from Hollywood. Football, cricket, and tennis tournaments served to maintain the healthy bodies and high spirits of the employees; a library with reading room aimed at raising the level of education and upbringing of local *Batamen*. Healthcare for employees and their family members was granted.<sup>34</sup> The recruitment of an upcoming generation not only ensured work for them, but also secured the continuity of a homogeneous and loyal workforce. Girls' and boys' schools and training centers educated the local Baťa young men and women into dedicated employees.

The omnipresent generous open green space and sporting grounds offered endless options and room for variety of traditional holiday celebrations, leisure and sport activities and also an informal exchange with the neighborhood. Baťa was always tolerant toward local religions and their practices, as long as they didn't disturb the functioning and profit of the corporation. These spaces were thus a sort of neutral ground on which different cultures and traditions overlapped. Their borders were elastic and allowed the encounter of two different worlds: the Baťa world and the neighboring world.

The arrival of a new player in the production of shoes, place, culture, and a new society, and the positive perception of its presence, acted as a catalyst for the modern economic development of the entire surrounding area. Private investors, as well as the city of Calcutta, began to invest in the area, leading to an influx of additional trade and service infrastructure and an increase in the literacy of local residents. The modern industrial town attracted attention nationally and internationally; to name but two examples, both Rabindranath Tagore and Jawaharlal Nehru expressed their respect for the new town.<sup>35</sup>

Batanagar was immediately integrated into the international trading and manufacturing company network, and the rhythm of the new city on the river Ganges was influenced by global affairs and events in world markets. Young Indian experts were regularly sent for training in Zlín, and Czechoslovak instructors in turn formed the managerial elite of Batanagar.<sup>36</sup> In 1935, the international press reported that Baťa had overtaken Japan to become the leader in the Indian shoe market.<sup>37</sup> With weekly production of 180,000 pairs of shoes, Baťa's vision of "shoeing India" had become a reality.<sup>38</sup> With the outbreak of the World War II and the German occupation of Czechoslovakia, Batanagar was given the task to "forget Zlín and put the factory on its

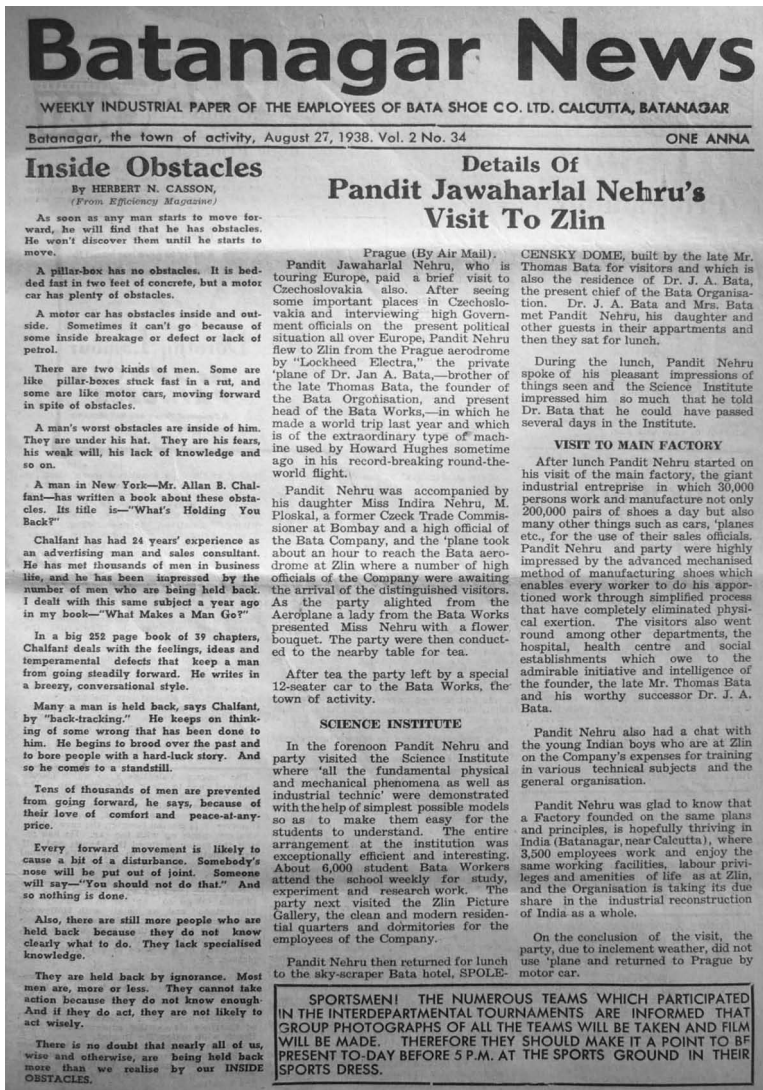


Figure 3.7. Corporate newspapers Batanagar News, 1938. (ČR-MZA—Brno, SOKA Zlín, Baťa, XV, inv. no. 228).

own footing.”<sup>39</sup> During the war, a considerable part of production in a factory focused on mandatory compliance with the requirements for the armies of various countries.<sup>40</sup> In 1942, several other auxiliary departments were put into operation, such as an engineering department, which built the first full-Indian machines for mass production of shoes. In 1944, the factory in Batanagar had



7497 permanent employees.<sup>41</sup> In 1956, the company changed its name to “Bata Shoe Company Private Limited” according to the Certificate of Incorporation dated April 6, 1956, upon conversion into private company. Less than twenty years later, in 1973, the company changed its name to “Bata India Limited,” upon conversion back to a public company.<sup>42</sup>

In the short period since its launch in India, Bata had become the busiest supplier of state orders of shoes for the army, schools, hospitals, and large construction companies. In the 1960s, Bata sold an average of sixty million pairs of shoes annually in India, and its products were exported to foreign markets including the United States, United Kingdom, and Middle East countries. Bata’s architect Vladimír Karfík mentions in his memoirs that at this time, “the factory in Batanagar was with its 25,000 employees the largest industrial plant in the Indian subcontinent.”<sup>43</sup>

In 1995, the company still provided employment to over 15,000 people in its manufacturing and sales operations throughout India.<sup>44</sup> Annually, more than thirty-three million pairs of shoes were manufactured in its five plants.<sup>45</sup> Twenty-three million pairs of shoes were outsourced from various small-scale manufacturers. However, since the 1980s Bata has been faced numerous strikes and lockouts due to local militant trade unions who derived their strength from the dominant political parties in West Bengal.<sup>46</sup>

Bata managed to resolve disputes with unions and to calm the situation until 1999. In early 2000, trade unionists asked the West Bengal government to intervene against the downsizing of the company’s operations. Indeed, the company started outsourcing a range of fully manufactured shoes from China. At the same time, the volume of production of Batanagar’s leather or rubber slippers, so-called *chappals*, decreased to 58 percent. Meanwhile the price of food in the canteen doubled, and management announced the impending withdrawal of subsidies for facilities, township maintenance, electricity, and health care schemes for employees’ families. The remaining workers began to worry about work and increasingly ventured into disputes with the corporation management. Owing to the increase in strikes and decline in productivity on the one hand and the growing proportion of outsourced production on the other hand, in 2000 Bata reduced the number of employees to 6,700.<sup>47</sup> In 2004, the company introduced its first “voluntary retirement scheme,” which was reintroduced in 2005 and 2006 leading the number of remaining employees to decrease yet again, to 2600.<sup>48</sup> The estimated number of Batanagar’s permanent company workers in 2011 was 2500.<sup>49</sup>

To reduce the conflict, the corporate headquarters moved from restless communist Bengal into more peaceful business center of Gurgaon.<sup>50</sup> In 2012, the chairman of the Board of Bata India Limited, Uday Khanna, promised in the company’s annual report to auditors to revise terms and conditions for the redevelopment of the modern integrated township at Batanagar. In order to improve working and living conditions of Bata employees and to modernize the



**Figure 3.8.** Omnipresent “Bata” in Kolkata (Markéta Březovská, 2011 and 2012).

factory, the Bat’a Company entered into a joint venture with private developer Riverbank Developers Private Limited.<sup>51</sup> Despite all these complications, and a growing proportion of subcontractors and outsourced production, Bata India Limited, with its “affordable, durable and quality footwear,” remains the best-known and largest Indian manufacturer and retailer of shoes.<sup>52</sup> Most of India’s population still believes that the Baťa brand originated in India (figure 3.8).

### Globalization and the End of the Baťa Model

Bata India Limited is still the largest shoe manufacturer in the Indian subcontinent. In 2008, a finance and investment company, Munoth Financial Services, published an independent report on the management of the Bata India Limited Company, declaring Baťa one of the leading producers of footwear in Asia and the largest in India, with 35 percent of the market.<sup>53</sup> According to the report, the corporation registers new records in sales and in the number of produced shoes every year. The factory in Batanagar is still in operation (figure 3.9). On the other hand, the number of employees of the Batanagar plant has decreased, from a peak of 25,000 to less than 2500.<sup>54</sup> A significant part of the production itself has shifted to small local entrepreneurs. Some of these are *muchis*, skilled local shoemakers. Others are former Baťa employees who, after being laid off, established private manufactures for making shoes based on the acquired knowledge and expertise gained at Baťa.

Privately-owned shoe businesses have existed in Nangi—the area surrounding Batanagar—since the opening of the factory in 1936. The advent of the multinational corporation attracted a much larger population than the planned ideal model of the city could employ and accommodate at that time; hence, incoming cobblers began to settle and establish their own businesses in the neighborhood. Since then they have lived in a state of spatial tolerance and mutual beneficial coexistence with the shoe producer.

The production of shoes in general has become the predominant cottage industry in Batanagar. Countless houses and families are dedicated to manufacturing shoes of various makes for some of the leading shoe brands in India. For example, Khadim’s, Sree Leathers, Titas, and Liberty have outsourced a major portion of their shoemaking process to the various entities in Batanagar. Every



**Figure 3.9.** Baťa employees leave the factory premises for a lunchtime break, in the background on the bank of the Hooghly river ongoing construction of the first residential tower of Calcutta Riverside (Markéta Březovská, 2011).

other home in Batanagar houses a small production unit manufacturing shoes (figure 3.10). This feature was born out of necessity, as most of the families residing in Batanagar were dependent on the production of the Baťa factory; thus, whenever there was a lockout at the factory, they families were directly affected. Shoemaking from their homes has given them an alternative source of income and outsourcing has become the main source of livelihood of the population in nearby areas.<sup>55</sup> The physical typology of the various production sites here ranges from a one-employee street stall to a small one-floor workshop for no more than two people, to a family workshop in a courtyard, to a factory of forty employees, to a large complex of factory buildings employing more than hundred workers.

Batangar has changed from the model of a workers society, to one that emphasizes private ownership or self-employment. This change within shoe production changed Batangar's culture. In a direct confrontation with the rigidities of Fordism, the new system of part-time and flexible employment, temporary contracts and network of subcontractors, accelerated the whole process that Harvey called flexible accumulation.<sup>56</sup> Competitive pressure and the struggle for better labor control led either to the rise of entirely new industrial forms or to the integration of Fordism with a network of subcontracting and outsourcing to give greater flexibility in the face of heightened competition and greater risks. The economies of scale sought under Fordist mass production have, it seems, been countered by an increasing capacity to manufacture a variety of goods cheaply in small batches. Economies of scope



**Figure 3.10.** Family workshop Laxmi Enterprise (Patchara Kanmuang, 2011) and transportation of finished products back to the Bata factory where they get the “Bata stamp” for the official distribution network (Markéta Březovská, 2011).

have beaten out the economies of scale.<sup>57</sup> This shift in patterns of production is intimately tied to changes of places of production.

Today’s production chain has little to do with Bata’s imported system of automatized steps on the assembly line. Striving to improve the return on investment by reducing in-process inventory and associated carrying costs, Bata employed a just-in-time production strategy and delegated a large part of the actual production of shoes to local entrepreneurs. Material purchased by Bata in Calcutta, together with order instructions, is redistributed to the individual production entities located in and around Batanagar, where it is processed by various manufacturing methods to become a final product. The finished shoe comes back to the Bata factory to get a stamp and approval to be sold as a Bata product. Here, I question the contemporary means of local production: It could be described as a shift from Fordism to post-Fordism and then back again to its origins, because all the work is manual handwork—from using chalk and scissors to click soft leather and a graver and knife for hard leather, to work on sewing machines operated by individuals, to manually assembled shoe boxes.

The static model of the automated production process for a number of shoes has changed into a dynamic one—one of individual subcontractors reacting to current market demand while trying to maintain the shoe’s status as cheap mass production. Small entrepreneurs using cheap labor, without healthcare or social obligations and without the threat of labor unions, perform all the working processes and procedures not worth running on the mechanized manufacturing line at the Bata factory including the precise clicking, gluing, sewing, pasting, and cementing of shoes. Centralized mass production in the factory has been transformed into a decentralized network of specialized individuals—handmade mass production outside the factory itself (figure 3.11).

Changing patterns of management and organization of labor in the production of shoes also led to significant changes in the production of space.



**Figure 3.11.** Nangichalkchandul, a private enterprise owned by a former Baťa worker has forty employees, four supervisors, and own outlet store in a two-story building in the neighborhood. It manufactures shoes mainly for Baťa and precise handmade serial production (Markéta Březovská, 2011).

Manufacturing sites, where the actual production of shoes currently takes place, are no longer under Baťa's direct control, and the land owned by the Baťa Company no longer serves the production of shoes or, in a broader sense, the company's production of corporate space, identity and community.

The outcomes of new structural conditions get wired into urban space. In fact, urban space itself is one of the factors producing the outcome of this process. This partly explains why architecture, urban design and urban planning have each played such critical roles. Beginning in the 1980s, we have seen the selective rebuilding of cities as platforms for a rapidly growing range of globalized activities and flows, from economic to cultural and political.<sup>58</sup>

Given the circumstances of the creation, operation and current state of the Baťa's city for the shoe production based on the modernist (Fordist) principles of strict zoning and spatial division of its functions, it is obvious that today, together with post-Fordist changes in production, there are also drastic transformations in space. Theories of post-Fordism generally include an emphasis on the rise of knowledge industries, on the one hand, and service industries on the other. They emphasize consumption and consumers as well as on productive workers. Meanwhile the fragmentation of mass production and the mass market into production is aimed at more specialized consumer groups, especially those with higher-level demands. This is reinforced by the decline in the role of the state and the rise of global corporations and markets. Baťa, a pioneer in the global use of branding, architecture, and urbanism to the promotion of its business interests, lost in the world shoe market its position of the absolute leader, especially in the field of advertising, implementation of new technologies, and marketing strategies. With regard to its participation in the (inevitable) outsourcing process remains Baťa Corporation in many

countries still the largest producer of shoes in quantity. In the field of newly produced lifestyle Bata has lost its battle, the leadership long dominated younger players whereas in the field of the strategic production of space the giant Nike reigns. As a result, the company Bata India Limited has decided to conquer a space unrelated to the industrial production of shoes, a space associated with the production and consumption of lifestyle and social status.

### **Calcutta Riverside: From Production to Real Estate**

New towns are as old as the history of urbanization. Today's new towns are tomorrow's historic towns. And yesterday's new towns are today's historic towns. The present is always transitory. We pay either attention to the past or to the future.<sup>59</sup>

With the advent of the new millennium, the Bata Company began to search for new business opportunities. Owing to favorable economic and socio-political circumstances, Bata India Limited successfully entered a new area of activity: The real estate market.<sup>60</sup> In this field, Bata again became an important agent of change in the urban environment. In 2006, after creating a public-private-partnership joint venture called Riverbank Developers Private Limited, and supported by the Kolkata Metropolitan Development Authority on redevelopment of the 262 acres of the Batanagar area, the Bata Company agreed to the demolition of its modernist architectural and urban heritage from the 1930s.<sup>61</sup>

The factory town Batanagar will be replaced by a new Western model: Calcutta Riverside, a township in the form of a gated community for 30,000 new residents, with an exclusive 9-hole golf course, a promenade, and a marina on the sacred river Hooghly (figure 3.12). The new township to be is



**Figure 3.12.** Calcutta Riverside project, view from the North (Calcutta Riverside, 2011).

again a strange element in its environment, although not uncommon in the contemporary context of Kolkata's outskirts.<sup>62</sup> The redevelopment plan of the developer Hiland Group and the architectural office comprises a large number of green spaces and recommitment to quality housing for the emerging Indian upper middle class.<sup>63</sup> The project won several prizes for the best development project of the future.<sup>64</sup>

Imagine a home surrounded by the harmony of nature. A canopy of green trees covers the path to your door. Where pristine surroundings cleanse away the din and bustle of grim city life.

Calcutta Riverside, a self-sustainable township by the Ganges, offers you just that.

A one-of-its-kind project, located just a few minutes from Taratala housing luxurious and smart living spaces.

Insisting on relaxation and repose - a glamorous balance of landscape and sky, this integrated township provides you the luxury of nature. Home is not just an address; home is where the heart is.

Calcutta Riverside.<sup>65</sup>

The printed promotional materials and homepage of the Calcutta Riverside website commercially advertise the project, so that the city once again becomes a business article, a branded commodity. While the project's promotional copy plays on contemporary ideas of ecology, sustainability, and security, old phrases from Bata's heyday, promoting a modern lifestyle, remain. The developer has carefully monitored and examined the current market situation and political scene, as well as the latest desires and demands of potential customers. Garvin summarizes findings on the relationship of the developer—and in the case of Bata, the builder as well—with the economic and political environment in which new development takes place thusly: "it is not the type of developer that is significant [public, nonprofit, for profit]; it is the financial and regulatory market in which they operate."<sup>66</sup>

The developer, Hiland Group, is not only present in a wide variety of local and international media discussing current development of the project in Batanagar, but is also present physically. Even before the first construction work started, Hiland Group erected a kind of a promotion center on the property, in addition to the on-site office, surrounded by meticulous landscaping featuring a new lake-pond. In this center, there are models of the entire project, drawings, video presentations, as well as hyperrealistic, spacious, non-Indian furnished demonstration apartments for each of the project typologies: Princep ("Homes by the Ganges"), Lake Town ("Residence by the Lake"), Mandeville ("Villas around the Golf Course"), Golf Greens ("Condominiums around the Golf Course"), and Elgin ("Smart Homes"). According to architect Nouman

Malik of the Hiland Group, eventual buyers frequently attend showings of these exemplary apartments.<sup>67</sup> Located in close proximity to Calcutta, and offering very low pollution and a large amount of water and green areas, Calcutta Riverside will provide its new residents with a high quality of life by local standards.<sup>68</sup> The decisive factor in transforming the city—in terms of both its physical space and function—was the fact that the developer had exclusive rights to the entire lot. This fact has not only facilitated the financing plan for the project, but also the actual zoning plan and architectural planning.

The master plan of the new township follows the original imprint of Bāṭa. It is situated along the central axis of communication that leads from the main entrance of the estate on the Budge Budge Road to the gate of the factory, which, while diminished, remains in operation.<sup>69</sup> This decision was based primarily on the fact that the existing infrastructure constructed under the main road—electricity, water and sewer lines—is still functional. The new proposal is also strongly influenced by the indigenous landscape, as “environmentalists forced the preservation of existing vegetation and water bodies during the political enforcement of the project.”<sup>70</sup> All the schools, temples, a mosque, and a chapel were also kept. The developer had initially planned to demolish other public buildings. Later on, he decided to keep some; for example, the iconic Bata Club in the European colony, which was reconstructed—its original remarkable red-black-white facade was painted pure white, which caused a huge debate among Batanagar expats.<sup>71</sup>

The developer, who is familiar with current global trends in architecture, was more inspired than Bāṭa by contemporary models of Asian, European, and American gated communities. Modern icons of the new city are brighter, greener, more luxurious, higher, and safer. The coastal promenade, featuring a marina with berths for twenty-five yachts, the crystal clear water in the ponds and the river Ganges, a golf course, a five-star hotel and high-rise residential buildings represent the major commercial attractions of the fenced and guarded city. The scale of these buildings is significantly larger than those of Batanagar. There are no one-story buildings in Calcutta Riverside; the smallest house is a two-story luxury villa with a floor space of 400 sqm. The architects who were asked to convert the development-strategy requirements of the Hiland Group into space are prominent figures in the contemporary Indian scene: Aniket Bhagwat from Prabhakar B. Bhagwat Associates, Balkrishna Doshi and Vastu Shilpa Consultants, Hasmukh a Bimal Patel from HCP Design and Project Management, and Dulal Mukherjee and Associates.<sup>72</sup>

Calcutta Riverside is a fresh brand of goods deliberately producing a cutting-edge lifestyle. The existing built-up structure, along with its existing spatial and social relations, is being torn down while a new superimposed structure is taking over. Toward this objective it also consciously utilizes a surveillance system and border wall that divides its users into those on the



inside and those on the outside. This situation will trigger new conflicts and spatial negotiations, especially for the existing community. While the space in Batanagar was never evenly accessible with respect to socioeconomic class, disparities in spatial and social justice will now increase. For that reason the developer plans—in addition to luxury homes and tempting places for leisure activities—to offer locals new jobs in the planned hospital, school and shopping center. Even more new employment opportunities for the population on the other side of the wall will offer the informal economy, service industries, and supporting occupations—like maids, babysitters, cooks, guards, drivers or gardeners—without which the new township cannot exist.

Once again, surrounding areas are reacting quickly and adapting to the new situation. Shortly after construction work began within the township, the neighborhood's small private developers responded with similar projects. In an area where most housing does not exceed four stories new structures are being built that considerably surpass the typical height of the existing urban landscape. It is clear that new development inside the township is again serving as a catalyst for urban and economic development, and for the overall modernization of the entire region.

The ideological motive at work in the background of the Calcutta Riverside is again, as in the case of Bata's Batanagar, the notion of modernity. The tendency of former colonial countries to be inclined toward the ideals of modernity in general originate from a search for their own identities in this new, postcolonial environment, connected to the modernist concept of production of space.<sup>73</sup> Even in the Calcutta Riverside project we can observe the principles of modernist planning: for example, infrastructure was determined first (logical preservation of the existing one), followed by zoning to commercial, recreational, institutional and residential areas and eventually public spaces, according to economic attractiveness and modern parameters of land use. The increasing number of new elites (in government, culture, or commerce), who have a "Western" education, has led to foreign architectural and urban models playing an important role in the genesis of these townships. These models, however, are adapted to local conditions, creating a sort of hybrid urban landscape, one that Hosagrahar calls "indigenous modernity."<sup>74</sup>

Finding one's own identity can be rather tough, however, within a globalized American-Euro-Asian lifestyle that is difficult to delineate, but is constantly presented to everyone everywhere. Future residents of Calcutta Riverside will probably fall into the sole group of globalized citizens.<sup>75</sup> Living and working in the gated community will connect the (international) members of the Indian middle class with the world, but at the same time separate them from local realities: their children will attend international schools, spend their free time at the shopping center or cinema multiplex, and take holidays abroad—but probably won't interact with the Calcutta Riverside neighborhood. In

today's postmodern media environment, these models are often presented as storyboards of lifestyle:

Wherever one looks—real estate ads enact a 5-star life with a complete 24/7 power and water supply—something that in India, even in the metropolises, can by no means be taken for granted. In addition, the best surveying and security systems, a clubhouse, a swimming pool, a golf course or a park, perhaps also equipped with rare flora and fauna, are available. “Smart Homes,” which can be remotely controlled from the car, but also erected and structured along the traditional Vastu Shastra principles . . . Geographical characteristics are blurred by the worship of luxury and of a global-Indian lifestyle. Are we in Bangkok? In Singapore? In a made-up collage? Countless real estate announcements, interior design magazines and billboards portray this new homeland.<sup>76</sup>

In the context of globalization and neoliberal economy, it is not just homes, but the whole sense of belonging to a certain community with a particular lifestyle, that is being commodified. Bata and the Hiland Group have constructed an image of “unique” modern homes, and through urban branding and place promotion strategies offer customers an attractive lifestyle in Calcutta Riverside as a customized mass product seemingly tailored to their needs.

The actual product of Calcutta Riverside has been notably reduced to its image. This can be seen in the fact that marketing and media have become critical elements of entrepreneurial success, as well as the physical appearance of the property. The buildings and their facades serve as independent forms of representation, more or less detached from the functional organization of the interior. Similar to the Batanagar era, particular emphasis is put on public space, or more precisely, on its representation. These communal spaces often bring along symbolic and iconic gestures, such as main entrances, drive-ways, gates, clubhouses, or marinas, which utilize a detached and placeless iconography from unprincipled commercial brochures about real estate and travel. Accordingly, developers have adapted state-of-the-art strategies from the world of consumer products. These tactics are referred to as a political gold-plating and a symbol of inflation.<sup>77</sup>

Formerly, the branding of space—whether public places or privately founded new towns—was mainly the purview of leaders of the intellectual scene: a key figure in the Indian independence movement and the first Prime Minister of independent India, (Nehru in Zlín and Batanagar), poets (Tagore in Zlín and Batanagar), or architects (Le Corbusier in Zlín). Today we see representatives from show business and sports stars, such as footballer Maradona, in Calcutta Riverside.<sup>78</sup>

The new development entails some kind of dual ideology—on the one hand a symbolic individualistic dream, and on the other, a strong belief in the



**Figure 3.13.** Advertisement for a new lifestyle at the background of the original thank-you for visiting Batanagar (Markéta Březovská, 2011).

superiority of the market. Both of these ideological moments are very different from the sociospatial reform ideals of the Baťa community and collaborative, “work together” principles of the original company town. The “brave new world” of the resultant typologies points to the fact that the new township draws on dreams, imagination, and fantasies.<sup>79</sup> It builds on the standardized mental imagery of individual consumers, customers, buyers, and shareholders (figure 3.13). This individuality is, however, sharply delimited by the choice of individual variants of one and the same product, which at the same time are dictated by the forces of the liberalized market.

### **Heritage and Modernity, a Conclusion**

Indian Heritage is a relatively new institution and Batanagar does not fall under its protection, which helped the transformation processes described here run smoothly, without outside influences, unlike other Baťa satellite towns.<sup>80</sup> The result of this process, in which one modernity replaces another, will be almost total. Nothing stood in the way of the developers authorizing the demolition and allowing new construction. From the beginning, houses were the property of the company, and their residents—exclusively Baťa employees and their families—paid the company rent that was actually deducted from their salaries. Baťa thus had absolute control over its property, a fact that considerably eased decision-making about the remaining inhabitants before the demolition.<sup>81</sup> They were offered the opportunity to move into new homes

in multiple-story houses, on the outskirts of the gated community, but still within walking distance of the factory.

Batanagar's original architecture, which was so unique in the global context of its cultural and historical location, is no longer taken into account (figure 3.14). On the contrary, the neoliberal economy allows some traces of the agenda standing behind the original footprint of Batanagar to be preserved. Ironically, these elements materialized into a European man-made industrial landscape that—for the sake of modernity—had already, back in the 1930s, irrevocably transformed this original local ecosystem in the delta of the Ganges River. The destiny of the corporate pride of Baťa's flourishing era is in fact in line with company founder Tomáš Baťa's relationship to architecture. It is known that his attitude was ahistorical; he quickly accepted the changes and new conditions to which he had to adapt, and harshly criticized alternative approaches:

Everyone [...] should have a house for himself, which would provide a healthy living according to the needs of today's life. [...] Meanwhile, we build houses that endure for 500 years and strangle and suffocate future generations as houses built by our ancestors suffocate us.<sup>82</sup>

The case study of Batanagar/Calcutta Riverside is far more important than as just an exotic example of the rise and fall of one factory town. Occupying a relatively small space, it gives us material to understand the principles of the modern production of space against the background of changes across society. Both models evoked, and still evoke, strong reactions. The critical parallel between Batanagar and Calcutta Riverside is in the concept of the commodification of a city—a city planned, promoted, developed, and governed by one corporation while employing the “top-down method.” This implies the



**Figure 3.14.** Panoramic view of the construction site of the new gated community, in the background the last Baťa houses awaiting demolition and replacement by the golf course (Calcutta Riverside, 2011).

import and implementation of admired overseas modern models of urbanism, architecture and lifestyle, which also contain regulations, rules of conduct and stringent control in the use of these newly created spaces (figure 3.15).

Urbanism in both cases adapts the concept of the “city in the gardens” as opposed to the old, unsatisfactory town.<sup>83</sup> Architecture is characterized by modernist structural rationalization, use of advanced technologies, and local construction materials. The standardization of procedures enables quick and inexpensive construction. Spatial organization of the physical space affects the social space, leading to changes in the composition of the population of the whole region. Strict spatial hierarchy generates social segregation and spatial inequity in accessibility of selected places. In both cases, however, emphasis is placed on the community, a community that identifies more with similar ones in different places around the world, and less with its proximate environment. The other side of the coin is the fact that these new agents of change bring new lifestyles and promises of prosperity, acting, for both models, as migration magnets exceeding the borders of the region.<sup>84</sup>



**Figure 3.15.** Modernist footprint of the past (Batanagar—left) and the future (Calcutta Riverside—right). The central communication and infrastructure axis, the factory, and the schools and temples in the northwest remained (Bauhaus Kolleg XII, 2011).

The corporate system of the Baťa Company has changed from a centralized one, with one headquarters and several production sites, to a decentralized network of interconnected relationships and distribution of knowledge, a globalized economy, and a spatially unjust division of labor. However, the mechanisms of creating space can still be seen as part of Baťa's production-driven process: the production of shoes outside the new development project and the production of a lifestyle within it. The original company town is being replaced by the new "gated community" township. Its components tend to conventional products reflecting the current logic and dynamic of the market. The production of houses again resembles the manufacture of other products, such as cars or shoes. The globally spread commoditization—and rationalized production—of the urban sphere has produced the same set of solutions that were once pursued by modernism and have been so broadly criticized by postmodernism.<sup>85</sup> The place once designed and built for production will be substituted by a place built for consumption, thus projecting the state of society at a particular time into a particular space. The role of modernity, incarnated into the architecture and urban planning used by multinational corporations to create and govern places and communities, still remains to be critically examined.

### Notes

1. Some of the material presented here appeared in different form and with a different argument in "Město, moře, Baťa, stavení," in *Třetí město*, edited by Barbora Vacková, Lucie Galčanová and Slavomíra Ferenčuhová, 155–85. Červený Kostelec: Nakladatelství Pavel Mervart/Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 2012; and "The Role of Brands Corporations in the Production of Space: The Urban Footprints of Baťa, Nike, and Volkswagen," in *Company Towns of the Baťa Concern: History – Cases – Architecture*, eds. Ondřej Ševeček and Martin Jemelka (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2013), 263–79.
2. Bohumil Lehár, "The economic expansion of the Baťa Concern in Czechoslovakia and abroad (1929–1938)," *Historica 5: Les sciences historiques en Tchécoslovaquie* (Praha: ČSAV, 1963), 147–88.
3. Selected "Baťa-cities" in different locations and corresponding languages: Baťov (founded in 1930, Czechoslovakia), Bataville (1932, France), Batadorp (1933, Netherlands), Bataguassu (1932, Brazil), Batanagar (1934, India), Batizovce (1934, Czechoslovakia), Baťovany (1938, Czechoslovakia), Batavia (1938, Indonesia), Batawa (1939, Canada), Batafler (1939, Chile), Batatuba (1941, Brazil), Batagan (1942, India), Batapur (1942, Pakistan), Bataiporã and Bataguassu (1953, Brazil), Batashatak (1992, India).
4. Baťa's specialized construction department in Zlín developed the prototypical master plan with modernist functional zoning—work, center, recreation, and living. There were two types: the European model of an "ideal industrial city" for three thousand to thirty thousand residents and the Tropical model for three thousand residents. Low-density semidetached family houses with private gardens contrasted with multi-story factory buildings and individually designed buildings for social activities. ČR-MZA—Brno, SOKA Zlín, Baťa, Osobní oddělení, II/6—Publikace, tiskoviny, inv. no. 56,

- "Ideální průmyslové město—kniha zkušeností a rad z podnikání fy Baťa"; V, Osobní oddělení, inv. no. 1–5, 11–23, 25–28, 51, "Různé podklady pro pokusné jednotky a průmyslová města"; XV, Stavební fond, rec. no. 19, 20 and 21, inv. no. 34, "Ideální průmyslové město budoucnosti."
5. There were already a dozen of Baťa company towns operating Europe, for example, Möhlin in Switzerland or East Tilbury in Great Britain.
  6. Today Kolkata. Until 2000, the city carried an Anglicized version of its name, written "Calcutta," although in Bengali (the native language of the vast majority of the people in the region) it has always been called Kolkata or Kolikata. In the context of decolonizing tendencies and the growth of a national movement, the name change was finally approved on December 23, 2000 by the Communist (Marxist) Party of India, ruling in West Bengal since 1977. Kenny Easwaran, "The Politics of Name Changes in India," In: *University of California at Berkeley Open Computing Facility* [online]. Last modified July 19, 2011. Accessed November 15, 2013. <http://www.ocf.berkeley.edu/~easwaran/papers/india.html>.
  7. Tirthankar Roy, "6. Leather," *Traditional Industry in the Economy of Colonial India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 156–96.
  8. Basavarasu Ramachandra Rau, *The Economics of Leather Industry* (Calcutta: Calcutta University Press, 1925), 7.
  9. Sreeparna Bagchi, "The Zlin Enterprise: A Profile of the Role of the First Multinational Organisation in the Leather Industry in Bengal (1931–1945)," *The Calcutta Historical Journal* 25, no. 2 (2005): 47.
  10. J. K. De, *Leather Industry of Bengal during the Period 1919–1969* (Calcutta: The Diamond Jubilee Souvenir of the College of Leather Technology, Government of West Bengal, 1994), 38–40.
  11. Government of Bengal, *Report on the Survey of Cottage Industries in Bengal* (Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1929), 40.
  12. Tirthankar Roy, *Traditional Industry in the Economy of Colonial India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 178–81.
  13. Anne Sudrow, *Der Schuh im Nationalsozialismus: Eine Produktgeschichte im deutsch-britisch-amerikanischen Vergleich* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2010), 123–44.
  14. John Baros, ed., *BATA—Organisation of Labour and Service* (Batanagar, 1939), 1–25; In 1931 279 million people lived in India, out of which 88 percent lived in the country and only 12 percent in the cities. In 2001 there were already 1.027 billion people, of which 72 percent lived in the country and 28 percent in the cities. Jaroslav Strnad et al., *Dějiny Indie* (Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 2003), 892.
  15. Roy, *Traditional Industry in the Economy of Colonial India*, 178–81.
  16. In 1690 Bengali rulers were granted permission by the (British) East India Company to establish a trading post in Calcutta, which soon became its main market base. The Calcutta port is to this day the oldest functioning and the only major river port in India. The local Presidency University, formerly known as Hindu College, was founded in 1817, making it one of the oldest educational institutions of the Western type in South Asia and the "Bengali Renaissance," a sociocultural and religious reform movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century has significantly influenced the worlds of literature, film, theater, music and art. Calcutta had in the

- 1930s already three Nobel Prize winners: Ronald Ross (1902, medicine), Rabindranath Tagore (1913, literature), and Chandrasekhar Venkata Raman (1930, physics). Later, they were joined by Mother Teresa (1979, peace) and Amartya Sen (1998, economics).
17. Peter Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow: an Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2002), 198–206.
18. Stanislava Vavroušková, “India and Czechoslovakia between two World Wars: Similar Experiences, Shared Dreams and a Common Purpose,” *Archiv Orientální* 75, no. 3 (2007): 259–78.
19. Jan Baroš, *The First Decade of Batanagar* (Batanagar: Club for the graduates of Bata School, 1945), 6–7.
20. *Ibid.*, 16.
21. Bata India Limited, “Draft Letter of Offer,” *Securities and Exchange Board of India*, March 8, 2005. <http://www.sebi.gov.in/dp/bata.pdf>.
22. “Indická cesta—velký příklad Tomáše Bati,” *Svět: Rubrika Ze světa*, Vol. 27 (1942): 16.
23. Sharon Zukin, “Market, place and Landscape,” *Landscapes of Power: from Detroit to Disney World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 3–24.
24. Tomáš Baťa died on July 12, 1932 in a plane crash en route to the opening of the concern’s first foreign company town in Möhlin, Switzerland.
25. Baroš, *The First Decade of Batanagar*, 47–49.
26. *Ibid.*, 59–60.
27. The original plan of the tropical variant of the ideal industrial city for 3,000 inhabitants drafted R. H. Podzemný. See Ladislava Horňáková, “Bata Satellite Towns around the World,” *A Utopia of Modernity*, eds. Katrin Klingan and Kerstin Gust (Berlin: Jovis, 2009), 118. Batanagar’s version has been revised by F. L. Gahura and on site adapted by master builder R. Martinec and new company director J. A. Baťa.
28. Jan Baroš, *The First Decade of Batanagar*, 64.
29. John Baros, ed., *BATA—Organisation of Labour and Service* (Batanagar, 1939), 5–6.
30. 1904–1905, 1911 and 1920. Martina Urbanová, and Jan Dundelová, “Work culture of the Bata company,” *Acta Universitatis Agriculturae et Silviculturae Mendelianae Brunensis* LX, No. 7 (2012): 487–94. [http://www.mendelu.cz/dok\\_server/slozka.pl?id=57208;download=105031](http://www.mendelu.cz/dok_server/slozka.pl?id=57208;download=105031).
31. Edward W. Said, “Holding Nations and Traditions at Bay,” In *Representations of the Intellectual* (New York: Vintage Books, 1996), 33.
32. Petr Szczepanik, “Modernism, Industry, Film: A Network of Media in the Baťa Corporation and the Town of Zlín in the 1930s,” In *Films that Work: Industrial Film and the Productivity of Media*, ed. Vinzenz Heideger and Patrick Vondreu (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009), 349–76 and Petr Szczepanik, “The Aesthetics of Rationalization: The Media Network in the Baťa Company and the Town of Zlín,” In *A Utopia of Modernity*, eds. Katrin Klingan and Kerstin Gust (Berlin: Jovis, 2009), 203–15.
33. *Batanagar News*, Vol. 1937, 1938 and 1939. ČR-MZA—Brno, SOkA Zlín, Baťa, II/7, inv. no. 227 (Volume 1937), inv. no. 228 (Volume 1938), inv. no. 229 (Volume 1939).



34. Baros, ed., *BATA—Organisation of Labour and Service*, 19.
35. A personal letter of thanks by Tagore addressed to the founder of Batanagar and dated to November 10, 1939 has long been “kept in the Batanagar Recreation Club Library.” Its copy was published in Jan Baroš, *The First Decade of Batanagar*, back of the site 183. Nehru’s visit described Stanislava Vavroušková, “India and Czechoslovakia between two World Wars: Similar Experiences, Shared Dreams and a Common Purpose,” *Archiv Orientální* 75, no. 3 (2007): 259–78 and Jan Baroš, *The First Decade of Batanagar*, 85.
36. Baroš, *The First Decade of Batanagar*, 17, 21, 34–35.
37. ČR-MZA—Brno, SOkA Zlín, Baťa, II/8, inv. no. 452, Zahraniční společnosti, fol. 205, “Bata unterbietet die Japaner” in *Deutsche Bergwerkszeitung*, Düsseldorf, October 3, 1935.
38. ČR-MZA—Brno, SOkA Zlín, Baťa, II/8, inv. no. 452, Zahraniční společnosti, “India’s New Town” in *Reuters*, July 13, 1937.
39. Baroš, *The First Decade of Batanagar*, 129.
40. Ibid., 144, and from the interview with urban economist Tushar Kanli Dey (Centre for Urban Economic Studies, Department of Economics, Calcutta University Alipur Campus), conducted and recorded on January 20 and 22, 2011 in Batanagar.
41. Baroš, *The First Decade of Batanagar*, 104.
42. Bata India Limited. “Draft Letter of Offer.” *Securities and Exchange Board of India*, March 8, 2005. <http://www.sebi.gov.in/dp/bata.pdf>.
43. Vladimír Karfík, *Vzpomínky* (Luhačovice: Atelier IM, 2012), 157.
44. “Case Study: Bata India’s HR Problems.” *HoRizon: Redefining Boundaries*. Last modified June 25, 2013. Accessed November 18, 2013. <http://xisshrclub.org/?p=200>.
45. Batanagar (West Bengal), Faridabad (Haryana), Bangalore (Karnataka), Patna (Bihar) and Hosur (Tamil Nadu).
46. The Left Front, led by the Communist Party of India (Marxist), governed West Bengal for 34 consecutive years (1977–2011), which have made it the state with the longest-running democratically elected communist government in the world. Elections in 2011 won the alliance of (social-)democratic parties the Indian National Congress (INC) and the All India Trinamool Congress (AITC), whose leader Mamata Banerjee became the first female prime minister in West Bengal. Soutik Biswas, “The woman taking on India’s Communists.” *BBC NEWS: South Asia*, April 15, 2011. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-south-asia-13077902>.
47. “Case Study: Bata India’s HR Problems,” *HoRizon: Redefining Boundaries*.
48. “Bata introduces Golden Handshake,” *The New Indian Express Limited*, April 1, 2004, 13.
49. According to interview with Subhro Saha, a special correspondent of *The Telegraph*, conducted and recorded on January 24, 2011 in Kolkata.
50. Gurgaon is located about 20 km southwest of Delhi and just 10 km from the Delhi International Airport. Over the last 20 years, the corporate or local headquarters of many multinational companies have moved here. Shilpa Kannan. “Gurgaon: From Fields to Global Tech Hub,” *BBC: Future*, October 2, 2013. <http://www.bbc.com/future/story/20131001-gurgaon-indias-it-capital>.
51. Bata India Limited. *Bata: Annual Report 2012* (Gurgaon: Bata India Limited, 2013), 21–22.

52. India Brand Equity Foundation, "Bata India Ltd: India's Largest Footwear Company," Accessed September 2014. <http://www.ibef.org/industry/retail-india/showcase/bata-india-ltd>
53. MFSL Morning: 22.02.2008, *Munoth Financial Services Ltd*, February 22, 2008. Accessed December 12, 2011. [http://www.munothfinancial.com/download.php?report\\_id=398&PHPSESSID=955853d8a1d20ac-4c830420760e497e6](http://www.munothfinancial.com/download.php?report_id=398&PHPSESSID=955853d8a1d20ac-4c830420760e497e6).
54. In the 2010s, according to an interview with Subhro Saha, a special correspondent of *The Telegraph*, conducted and recorded on January 24, 2011 in Kolkata.
55. "Batanagar," last modified May 13, 2011, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Batanagar>.
56. David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Cambridge: Wiley-Blackwell. 1990), 147.
57. Ibid., 155–6.
58. Saskia Sassen, "Cities and City Regions in Today's Global Age," *Urban India: Understanding the Maximum City*, ed. (London: Urban Age, 2007), 12. Sociologist Sassen coined and popularized the term and the concept of the "global city" already in the 1980s.
59. Asesh Kumar Maitra, "The New Town Movement in India and the Changing Paradigms of Development," *Research on New Towns: First International Seminar*, ed. (Almere: International New Town Institute, 2006), 132.
60. The change of the local government from the Communist toward a neoliberal one allowed the private sector to initiate and implement new projects: "Entrepreneurs do not appear automatically whenever there is a unfulfilled demand for something. They have to believe that the risk of failure is minimal and the rewards that come with success are generous. Unless such favorable conditions are prevalent, entrepreneurs will exploit other, more attractive opportunities." Alexander Garvin, *The American City: What Works, What Doesn't* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2002), 21–22.
61. The Riverbank Developers Pvt Ltd (RDPL) is a 50:50 joint venture between Bata India Limited and Calcutta Metropolitan Group Limited (CMGL). CMGL is also a joint venture between the private entity United Credit Belani Group (UCBG) and the public administration Kolkata Metropolitan Development Authority (KMDA). UCBG, also known as Hiland Group, is an Indian company with interests in real estate and financial services, is involved in several similar projects in Kolkata, such as Hiland Park, Hiland Woods, and Hiland Sapphire. The Kolkata Metropolitan Development Authority (KMDA), on the other hand, is a statutory body set up under the West Bengal Town and Country (Planning and Development) Act in 1979. See "262 acres of Integrated Township at Kolkata," *POWERYOURTRADE*, accessed December 3, 2011, <http://power-your-trade.blogspot.com/2007/12/262-acres-of-integrated-township-at.html> and *Hiland Group*, accessed February 16, 2013. <http://www.hilandcal.com>.
62. According to Wang et al., similar types of new development are occurring on all the outskirts of the Kolkata Metropolitan Area: "Clearly . . . [changes] . . . are linked to the ongoing socioeconomic, regulatory, and political changes in the state that favor large-scale real estate and township projects on the periphery of the core metropolis. These changes are in turn reflected in

- the way metropolitan growth and expansion is being conceptualized and strategized by the state urban development department in general and the KMDA in particular. Building new townships is therefore conceived as a necessary instrument of planned and balanced urbanization in the metropolitan area." See Wang et al., "Building for What and Whom? New Town Development as Planned Suburbanization in China and India." In *Suburbanization in Global Society*, eds. Mark Clapson and Ray Hutchison (Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing Limited, 2010), 444.
63. The new master plan preserves or "re-plants" 75 percent of existing grown greenery—trees and palms. From an interview with Anal Vaishnav, a Hiland Group architect, conducted and recorded on January 19, 2011, in Batanagar.
  64. In 2008, the Calcutta Riverside Project was awarded the main prize in the developers' *International Residential Property Awards* and in 2009 the main prize of the *Cityscape Asia Awards 2009* in the Category *Best Residential-Future Award*.
  65. "Home," *Calcutta Riverside*, accessed October 16, 2013. <http://www.calcuttariverside.com/home.asp>.
  66. Alexander Garvin, "Planning Strategy for Suburban Landscape," *The American City: What Works, What Doesn't* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2002), 340.
  67. Interview with Nouman Malik conducted and recorded on March 3, 2012 in Batanagar.
  68. Interview with Anal Vaishnav conducted and recorded on January 19, 2011 in Batanagar.
  69. The original Bata's sign saying "Welcome to Batanagar" replaced a majestic corporate gateway announcing the Calcutta Riverside.
  70. Interview with Anal Vaishnav conducted and recorded on January 19, 2011 in Batanagar.
  71. According to Nouman Malik, new customers might possibly associate the " 'original red paint' with the Communist Party that has no place here. Although, it never really had a place within any of the Bata's properties," and Our Bata Club, *Facebook: Batanagar*, accessed October 20, 2013.
  72. *Calcutta Riverside*, accessed October 16, 2013. <http://www.calcuttariverside.com>.
  73. Analysis of the factors that connect modernity and postcolonial condition, has long been examined by Arjun Appadurai, Homi K. Bhabha and Anthony D. King, *Spaces of Global Cultures: Architecture, Urbanism, Identity* (New York: Routledge, 2004).
  74. Jyoti Hosagrahar, *Indigenous Modernities: Negotiating Architecture and Urbanism* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 6–14.
  75. In the sense of "exclusive" as well as "excluded"—just as international residents of Batanagar were connected to the world, they were at the same time disconnected from their immediate surroundings.
  76. Christiane Brosius, "Indien scheint: Enklaven des Wohlstands," *Archplus* 40, no. 185 (2007): 67.
  77. Richard Sennett, "Consuming Politics," in *The Culture of the New Capitalism* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), 164–5.
  78. West Bengal—unlike other Indian states which indulge in cricket—has since the late nineteenth century been the football center of India. "Football

- in Bengal," *The Indian Football Association*, accessed 19 November 2013. <http://the-ifa.org/archives.php>.
79. This novel by Aldous Huxley from 1932 describes a society in the year 2540 (or 632 after Ford) that is artificially increasing its satisfaction at the expense of feelings and emotions. Aldous Huxley, *Brave New World* (New York: Harper & Row, 1998).
80. Official care of historical monuments in West Bengal came into force within the *West Bengal Town and Country (Planning and Development) Act XIII* only in 1979. *Graded List of Heritage Buildings: Grade-I, Grade-IIA & "Grade-IIB Premises as on 25. 2. 2009* (Kolkata: Kolkata Municipal Corporation, 2009), 93. [https://www.kmcgov.in/KMCPortal/downloads/Graded\\_List\\_of\\_Heritage\\_Buildings\\_Grade\\_I\\_IIA\\_IIB.pdf](https://www.kmcgov.in/KMCPortal/downloads/Graded_List_of_Heritage_Buildings_Grade_I_IIA_IIB.pdf). Similarly large interest of developers in redevelopment of the Bata land in the British East Tilbury founded on the fact that the British Heritage doesn't allow any changes of the already protected preservations site. East Tilbury, listed in 1993, became largest legacy of industrial architecture in Britain and also the world-best-preserved town of the Bata company. *Thurrock Council—Character Appraisal—East Tilbury* (Thurrock Council, 2007) [http://www.thurrock.gov.uk/planning/environment/pdf/con\\_appraisal\\_etilbury.pdf](http://www.thurrock.gov.uk/planning/environment/pdf/con_appraisal_etilbury.pdf). appendix Bata.
81. 1097 people in 2006 according to Gargi Gupta, "Riverside promises to set new housing standards," *Business Standard*, March 17, 2006. <http://www.business-standard.com/india/storypage.php?autono=232153>
82. Tomáš Baťa, *Úvahy a projevy* (Praha: Institut řízení, 1990), 113. The original speech is dated 1931.
83. Ondřej Ševeček, *Zrození Baťovy průmyslové metropole: Továrna, městský prostor a společnost ve Zlíně 1900–1938* (České Budějovice: Veduta; Ostrava: Ostravská univerzita, Filozofická fakulta, 2009): 143.
84. Ibid., 213.
85. Alfredo Brillembourg and Hubert Klumpner, "Roaming and rambling: U-TT on Social Design in the Urban Planet," in *The Social Design Public Action Reader*, ed. Lukas Feireiss (Zürich: SLUM Lab, 2013).



# Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

# Sir John Summerson and the Art of Modern Storytelling: Radio, Architecture, and Democratic Culture

*Shundana Yusuf*

*Last week I went to Blenheim again to refresh my memory for this talk. The first thing that struck me was this—that in laying out the grounds with those interminable avenues, Vanbrugh might almost have been looking forward to an age when people would be able to see Blenheim from the air. It is only from the air that you can see the house, the gardens, and park as a pattern—and a very splendid and majestic pattern they make. On foot, although you miss the symmetry, the scene is of course, more picturesque—more inviting. You see parts of the Palace emerging from the trees—steep, pinnacled towers with something military about them—not fortress-like, but with the pomp and discipline of a full dress parade. Even as you come to the entrance and pass through into the court, you don't get a full idea of the building's extent. But this court opens into another and here you really are at the center of things. On your right is the park with a mile-long avenue vanishing to a memorial column across the bridge. On your left a broad flight of steps leads up to the portico.<sup>1</sup> (figure 4.1)*

—John Summerson

## Radio, Patriotism, and Democracy in England

These are the opening words of one of Sir John Newenham Summerson's (1904–1992) radio broadcast segment in “Famous Midland Houses.” Aired in 1937, this series commenced his lifelong relationship with the British Broadcasting Corporation (est. 1927). “Midland Houses” gave listeners seven vicarious tours of eleven stately houses and country estates in desperate need of a modern model for preservation. Political and economic pressures on the landed classes, since the middle of the nineteenth century, and the slow collapse



**Figure 4.1.** Thomas Tresham, Triangular Lodge at Rushton Hall, Northamptonshire, England, 1593–97 (photo June Anthill) showing the rich rustication and sharp perspective at the corners. All images used with permission.

of the British Colonial Empire, placed great challenges on the maintenance of such estates. The First World War further sapped their landed foundations. Between the wars, nearly all of the great show houses that had attracted thousands in the nineteenth century were closed. At the lowest point in the period the stock of privately owned houses open to the public was down to about two dozens. Some were abandoned to servants and tourists, other were simply knocked down.<sup>2</sup> Their closures and demolitions didn't attract many cries of protests. From 1925 to 1930, while the flow of tourists through picturesque villages more than doubled, the visiting to all the open houses declined.<sup>3</sup>

Summerson's wireless tour of the representative examples of these ill-fated artifacts began in Warwickshire at the crumbling Compton Wynyates (1481) where visitors complained of "the smell of dry rot combin[ed] with damp and dirt."<sup>4</sup> Next week it arrived in Nottinghamshire to visit Newstead (est. 1170), a romantic Gothic Abbey that had been extensively renovated in the nineteenth century by different owners and opened to thousands of tourists from all over the world. After World War I, visitation became a tremendous financial burden for them with the result that in 1918 the estate was closed to outsiders. In 1931, the great philanthropist Sir Julien Cahn bought and donated the property to the Nottingham Corporation, which reopened it in 1934. The week after came Kentchurch Court (1300s) and Holme Lacy (1300s) in Herefordshire, Rushton Hall (1438) and Castle Ashby (1574) in Northamptonshire, and Haughton Hall (1718) and Condover Hall (1590s) in Shropshire; one-time countryseats and private English homes, now partially open for display to a ticket-paying public. The series ended at the birthplace of Winston Churchill, Blenheim Palace (1705–1724) in Woodstock, Oxfordshire; the pride of the locality that only allowed visitors to its grounds and courtyards.

The series was a big success and established Summerson as a regular fixture on British domestic airwaves. A labor-intensive and expensive program-type, it birthed most of his future broadcasting strategies. This essay describes the BBC's and Summerson's continued interest in them. Focusing on "Midland Houses," it draws upon scholarship on the electronic orality and explains how Summerson envisioned architecture for the non-visual medium of radio. How did he portray it for listeners who could not see or judge what he was describing, who may or may never visit the places, and for whom these sites may or may not be anything more than a name on a postcard? In popular imagination, these buildings were at once symbols of architectural excellence and monuments to historical injustice, property inequality and class distinction. We will look at how Summerson conceived of them in the age of radiophonically connected mass democracy and burgeoning mass culture.

Summerson is widely recognized as one of the most brilliant architectural historians of the twentieth century. His work has shaped the academic and popular perception of both British neoclassical and modern architecture. His writing balanced factual data with poetic speculation and a literary feeling for the historical context, rivaled among the English perhaps only by another brilliant broadcaster, Reynier Banham. Intersecting the roles of journalist, scholar, and polemicist, he could write with the same facility on Le Corbusier as on a church architect like William Butterfield. He relieved architectural history from duties to the drafting board and pattern books, and appointed it as a critical cultural enterprise in its own right. His consolidation of architectural history as an independent profession and a humanistic discipline was as great as that of Nikolaus Pevsner. Summerson not only analyzed the archive. From 1941 to 1945, he also created it. As the Deputy Director of National Building



Record (NBR), largely a voluntary organization dedicated to preserving British landmarks during the war by way of their photographic record, he created the largest photographic and architectural archive in Britain, and possibly the world. The NBR collected records of the hitherto overlooked examples of what they judged as “good” historic buildings in Britain. In 1945, he became the curator of the Soane Museum. During the next forty years in that position, he did much to raise its profile. He was celebrated as CBE in 1952, honored as a Knight in 1958, and won the Royal Gold Medal from RIBA in 1971.

These successes were closely tied to Summerson’s career in broadcasting. Here our protagonist was lent the ear of the segment of population that would perhaps never enter a museum or pick up the kind of publications for which he wrote. Penetrating the intimacy of the home, his disembodied voice introduced the British people to the world as seen through his eyes. By wartime, Summerson had become the most well-known architectural historian in the country. He was on BBC’s regional stations, Home Service, and after 1945, the Third Programme. When German bombs started falling on densely settled areas in Britain and families en masse packed up for shelters and the countryside, the radio set became the most reliable source of keeping abreast of the war. It also became the favorite source of maintaining patriotism and spending idle days. The BBC, almost taken over by Churchill’s Wartime cabinet, involved Summerson in the war effort on the home front. He produced dozens of heart-wrenching accounts of destroyed buildings. He spoke of structures sliced as if they were in section with a blunt knife and beaten aimlessly with a poor hammer (figure 4.2).



**Figure 4.2.** Master Marines Almshouses, Yorkshire, England (photo English Heritage) showing the effects of World War II Blitz. John Summerson and G. Bernard Wood took this photograph. It was originally intended to show the building intact. But enemy bombers had destroyed them before the photographers could get to the site.

“Ruins and the Future” (1941) took an anxious and distressed nation on verbal tours of rubble everywhere and introduced to it Labour Party’s plans for reconstruction. “Bombed Architecture in the West” (1942) likewise, was a survey of lost, defaced, and surviving buildings in “great western cities whose appearance has been horribly altered by the raiders.” It included obituaries of conspicuous and hidden gems like “Cottonian” library in Plymouth. “It was just what a small library ought to be. There were no windows to cast awkward shadows across your book; all the light came from a shallow dome ringed with glass. Round this, the room was symmetrical and designed with so much reticence and skill that you were conscious only of the books around the walls and the circle of soft light overhead. It was real architecture.”<sup>5</sup> “Plymouth Rebuilding Plan” (1944) and “Nash’s Terraces in Regent’s Park” (1945) were trips to the past to develop criteria for evaluating future developments. These programs were the by-product of his experience at National Buildings Record (NBR). They registered the staggering scale of the problem of preservation confronting England and consolidated Summerson’s views on reconstruction. “Western Men,” a series introduced “John Wood: Architect and Planner of Bath” (1945) in the same way of a walking tour through Bath. The series described the Roman foundations of the city, the eighteenth-century real estate market and John Woods’ planning programs (figure 4.3).

After the war “On the Map” (1946) surveyed twenty-four British towns as a family album of the best national architecture. The program was followed by broadcasts like “Getting the Most out of Looking at a Town” (1946).



**Figure 4.3.** John Wood (the younger), The Royal Crescent, Bath, England, 1767–74 (photo Kathy Pearmain).

It underscored the joy and pleasure of town gazing. "St. Stephen, Walbrook: A Revaluation, I—History of the Church" (1947) and "Historic Houses of England" (1947), the latter a sequel to "Midland Houses," ensured oral travelogues as Summerson's most prominent narrative strategy for evoking the question of preservation and architectural history. Together, this body of work fashioned Sir John Summerson as one of the most formidable storytellers of modern times. They gave him a voice that most effectively fixed British identity in its historical built environment.<sup>6</sup>

### Storytelling in History and Theory

At the same time that radio began to revive oral travelogues, scholars like Milman Parry and Walter Benjamin began to think through its attributes. Oral travelogues were the most archaic form of storytelling. They were a technology of managing knowledge. Parry described tales of far-away lands in Homeric poems as an art of recalling.<sup>7</sup> Oral composition was an improvisational art. It sunk, Benjamin tells us, "the thing into the life of the storyteller, in order to bring it out of him again."<sup>8</sup> The tales of Scheherazade, the princess whose life depended on thinking of new stories of mystical and unknown worlds, were told and re-told by following generations in ever-new circumstances. Being oral, every story was different. Every repetition therefore was also an invention. Every generation emphasized different lessons, dormant in the legend. Scheherazade bound her audience into a community. Her stories impressed upon their collective memory the wisdom of distant cultures and long past days. Benjamin's sketch of travel stories in oral societies erased the distinction between teller and listener. They made everyone into creative participants and inventors. The legends were always reactive and never finished.

This ended with writing and printing. Scribes and publishers have diminished the interactive quality of oral cultures. What writing had begun, the printing press completed. The printed word transformed travelogues into finished products. Books isolated the novelist from listeners. They freed the reading environment from her physical presence. If ideas and thoughts in oral societies were reactive and responsive, views and concepts in literate societies became actively and "originally" produced. Improvisation gave way to composition. Literacy put a tremendous premium on the organization of ideas into different disciplines, taxonomies and so on. Knowledge metamorphosed into instrumental information. The relationship between writer and reader became passive and mechanical. From the Mesopotamian tablets to the halfpenny newspapers, the spirit of modern progress suppressed storytelling. Print lost the capacity to transmit wisdom, and industrialized man forgot to listen.

A generation after Benjamin and Parry, Jacques Derrida would agree with his predecessors that the mechanics of writing and printing killed the improvisational quality of ancient storytelling. However, the written tradition of Western philosophy, he would be quick to add, has retained the thought of

oral storytelling as a fetish. As writing lost the ambiance of voice, it created nostalgia for it. That spoken word “does not (seem to) borrow . . . any substance of expression foreign to its spontaneity,” has encouraged the “concept” to “present itself as what it is; *pure presence*.” We learn that as a result, everyone from Plato to Hegel to Heidegger has upheld orality as “pure auto-affectation.” They have seen it as the privileged medium of meaning. Writing, the principle mode of reflecting on orality, in turn, is registered as an index of *absence*. It has been regarded as the lifeless sign that cannot answer back when you ask it a question. It has been dismissed as an “archetypal violence: the eruption of the *outside* within the *inside*.”<sup>9</sup> The voice, Derrida notes, is called conscience not for no reason. It is respected as “the condition of the very idea of truth.”<sup>10</sup>

Wireless dissemination, one of typography’s greatest achievements, only heightens sound’s potency. As such it only fuels philosophy’s phonocentricity. It not only exclusively appeals to the hyperaesthetic, intolerant, and unprotected organ of the ear. It revives the magical spell of storytelling, so lamented by Benjamin, albeit in different conditions. Bringing back every gestural quality that the printed page strips from language in the dark, it now, however, bestows the psychodynamic and historic force of speech on the lifeless sign of writing. The “typographic folk,” Walter Ong tells us, “believe that oral exchange should normally be informal.”<sup>11</sup> This sets up the electronic media to promote a self-consciously informal conversational style and give the precision and “closure” of the script, the same aura of authenticity and *presence*, historically enjoyed by voice.

Radio does not play in the background of our daily lives innocuously. It exercises its leverage on our psyche, not by demanding but by freeing us from the attention required of the reader by text. It is not unworthy of our attention that while literacy privileges the dissecting sense of sight; orality activates the involving sense of hearing. “When I hear, I gather sound simultaneously from every direction at once: I am at the center of my auditory world, which envelopes me, establishing me as a kind of core of sensation and existence.”<sup>12</sup> The wireless technology exploits this quality of sound. It instills not the ideal of clarity, distinctness and a taking apart (the forte of vision), but the ideal of harmony, corporate binding and a putting together. It is for good reason that Marshall McLuhan called radio the tribal drum. Its recall of the infinitely mightier, infinitely overreaching Scheherazade has the power of “turning the psyche and society into a single echo chamber.”<sup>13</sup> While it makes the relationship between the broadcaster and listener even more passive and mechanical than that between writer and reader, it produces the effect of participation and involvement.

### **The BBC, Democratic Culture, and Historic Preservation**

The pioneering generation of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), then armed with the legislatively protected monopoly over national and imperial airwaves, took the participatory mystique of radio as a precious gift

for reconciling democracy with culture. The BBC's first director general, John Reith, attracted intellectuals and educators who supported the extension of self-governance to everyone under the presumption that democracy would sublimate class antagonism and strengthen nationalism, putting cultural advance on firmer foundations. However, by the time the BBC was licensed, democracy had stampeded ahead, trampling over the cultural enterprise. As one regime after another rejected the democratic formula in favor of authoritarianism on the international stage, and the parliamentary victory of Labour radicals overthrew Liberals' civilizing framework for economic mobility on the home front, John Reith and his senior cadre fashioned British radio as the mainstay of Liberal participatory ideals.

The BBC was run as a "wireless university" that gave citizens the opportunity to discover their innate aesthetic sensitivity, learn social decorum, and practice political farsightedness.<sup>14</sup> Emanating from the BBC's central corporative structure, broadcast culture was thus most self-consciously devised as the liberal alternative to conservative, socialist, and fascist approaches to institutional reform and modernization. A public raised to care for the finer things in life, Reith and his staff members assured themselves, would have respect for tradition, the authority of the state, and national interests.<sup>15</sup> Under the guiding hand of a self-confident public authority like itself, democracy was to organically create a group portrait of the Britons and bring about a cultural renaissance, all its own.

Historic preservation was a testing ground for the BBC's ambitions. In the 1920s and 1930s, the rapid and drastic expansion of the tourist industry made preservation a terribly sticky and litigious issue. This was the moment of mass circulation. "England was on the move. By rail and bicycle, on foot, in cars and charabans, people moved out into the country for day-trips, weekends and summer holidays, on a scale which had never been seen before."<sup>16</sup> Walking, hiking, biking, motoring, and the railways opened up the countryside to ever-growing flocks of urbanities.<sup>17</sup> The 33,690 miles of railways descended plebeian crowds on the coastal towns in Lancashire, Yorkshire, and North Wales, while the two million motorcars made Folkstone, Torquay, and Bournemouth the favorite destination for middle-class daytrips and weekends. Tourist Societies for organized excursions offered cheap package deals, all around the country. Thomas Cook and Sons, the cheapest of them, offered casual day trips for railway travelers to country houses, abbeys and castles within the reach of countryside. The sites inaccessible in spite of the railways had the independence and flexibility of the motorcar to thank for bringing them into the fold of the all-pervading tourist market.<sup>18</sup>

To those thrilled about this newfound openness of the countryside, tourism put the public right of way above the law of trespassing.<sup>19</sup> The public celebrated the democratic openness. However, for many, the preservation efforts were seen as an effort to subsidize the landed gentry, maintain their rights over land and

buildings with public money, only to keep the public at bay.<sup>20</sup> Others thought conservationists a bunch of reactionaries and obstructionists. The Labor Treasury considered ancient monuments expenditures “entirely a luxury,” and a waste of resources on schemes that “however desirable from the aesthetic point of view, do not enrich the country or add to its commercial equipment.”<sup>21</sup>

Public hostility initially kept the BBC’s Talks and Education departments, clear of the topic.<sup>22</sup> However, around 1932 the new generation of preservationists discovered oral travelogues and in them a way to dissipate the antagonism between preservation and tourism.<sup>23</sup> They found success in a new slightly ambitious kind of travel literature, which combined the functions of travel guide and philosophizing on the idea of Englishness. Its most important example by far was H. V. Morton’s book, *In Search of England*.<sup>24</sup> First published in 1927, *In Search* went through twenty-three editions in the next decade. Morton, like the BBC, had a frankly paternalistic view of his readership and imagined himself a grand educator, aspiring masses to eternal truths about traditions and healthfulness of the countryside.

The architectural broadcasters, who hoped to rival the same combination of entertainment and instruction championed travelogues as backdoor activism for historic preservation. Before Summerson, its best-known exploiters were Geoffrey Boumphrey and John Betjeman. Unlike the preservationists of the Ruskinian and Morrisian variety, all three of these men were alive to the public opinion against them. Absorbing some of the logic of this critique, they brought an updated notion of heritage to the microphone. They differentiated preservation from arcane antiquarianism and insisted on it as a pressing problem for modern planning. Against the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Buildings (founded by William Morris) their case included preparing the country for the modern motorist, tourist, seasonal tenants, noise, speed and electricity, and picnicking. It argued that the opening up of the natural and architectural treasures of the countryside could be planned to make modernization and preservation mutually beneficial. A full-minded scheme would rope in the frozen and antiquated parts of the countryside as tourist attractions and bring them into the modern world. These New Preservationists saw tourism as an entirely positive “free market” phenomenon that would remedy the critique of saving the landed aristocracy. The steady stream of visitors, it was often pointed out, was dependent on the attractiveness of localities. With little tempering and guidance in taste, the market would watch after beauty itself.<sup>25</sup>

For Boumphrey and Betjeman, to be democratic, the rural past and the countryside had to become an adventure ground and a pleasure garden for the army of new explorers. Summerson, by contrast, saw it serving as a library. There one “read” both for pleasure and self-knowledge. “Man can form no picture of the future except by reference to the past,” he would say elsewhere.<sup>26</sup> A pedagogic and artistic end in itself, “Midland Homes,” hoped to boost architectural tourism, incorporating stately heritage into the budding tourist

market. There, visiting and looking around sounded like a conversation with the past.<sup>27</sup> Summerson agreed with Betjeman that there was “a good deal of pleasure to be got from looking” at old towns and buildings. Where they differed was on what that pleasure entailed and how it ought to function.

Betjeman demanded an abandoning of oneself to imagination and feelings in front of a building and used poetic and literary association to give a taste of what the enjoyment might entail. Summerson, on the other hand, imagined a probing, more cerebral pleasure which “combine[d] amusement with instruction.” Pleasure that derived from looking “with understanding eyes, seeking them as a record of the race to which we belong.”<sup>28</sup> “You will not get much amusement out of looking at a town unless you bring certain seriousness to the job.” Looking ought to become “a sporting event—something between a walking marathon and a cross-word puzzle,” a problem to be constructed and solved. “If you do make a real endeavour to solve the puzzles which your chosen town presents, I think I can guarantee you a reasonable and innocent dividend of pleasure.”<sup>29</sup>

Gathering together incommensurable topics, disparate moods, disconnected times, places, and people on the same dial, this new medium validated Summerson’s desire to unify thought and feeling, separated by the typographic man for 500 years. To convince them to invest in cerebral pleasure, he did not engage the audience with logic and debate. Travelogues did not approach them actively but inadvertently and inertly. His challenge was not so much the mastery of the discourse on preservation as the mastery of the surreptitious and insensible ways of radiophony. No one was better at capitalizing the seeming immediacy of the broadcast word. Summerson wove intimate and captivating accounts of what were otherwise the most canonic architectural exercises in formality, grandeur, and impersonality.

Summerson was not alone in this endeavor. The BBC executives were equally conscious that in promoting new preservationists, they were in the business of establishing conventions for democratic culture, and that establishing new conventions, democratic or authoritarian, involved their subliminal internalization. “History reminds us,” wrote Richard Lambert, “that new conventions become established in stages. First the pioneers (namely the preservationists) . . . point the way; next the power of some mighty social instrument (namely the BBC) is used to publish and establish the new principle in the conscience of the nation. And last, the convention endures of itself without any pressure or advertisement, and habit makes the children that are to come forgetful even of the need, which originated it.”<sup>30</sup> Lambert, the editor of the BBC’s weekly *The Listener*, envisaged the architectural preservationist as “the visionary” who realized:

broadcasting as the modern counterpart of the eighteenth century societies for the reformation of manners, which undertook to shame the public into decent behavior on . . . gross evils. These organizations

acted upon the assumption that if one could awaken the educated and intelligent portion of society to the issues involved, they could influence or control the conduct of the rest.<sup>31</sup>

The preservationist was committed to the task of stirring up sentiments for “buildings that the” Victorians “had come to look upon as national possessions being demolished for mere speculative value of their sites.”<sup>32</sup> If the public identified with the concept of collective past, the BBC executives could hedge their bets, would be partial to consensus, law and order, and strengthen nationalism.<sup>33</sup> “Providing a bridge, a connecting link between ear and eye impressions of words and sentences,” radio’s miraculous power to speak to listeners in the privacy of their homes, would finally bind Britain into a united kingdom and the people into “one man.”<sup>34</sup>

### Summerson and the BBC

During the patriotic and xenophobic period of the 1920s and 1930s, this mandate made the BBC one of the most sought-after publishers of arts in Britain.<sup>35</sup> It attracted every architect and critic, who either wanted to stand out in the profession or rise above its confines. In 1938, H. S. Goodhart-Rendel, the RIBA’s president who saw the Institute through the passage of 1938 Architect’s Registration Bill, would advise members to actively seek the BBC’s patronage for the promotion of the profession.<sup>36</sup> In this prestigious space, Summerson was heard amidst daily dose of classical and band music, modern poetry, literature, and drama. He followed lessons in German and French.<sup>37</sup> He was seated in the virtual company of painters, sculptors and gardeners, government and church officials. His words were diffused through air saturated with significant imperial affairs and British interests.

John Summerson had tried to enter this space since 1931, by getting the resourceful Sir Reginald Blomfield—a well-connected planner, architect, and scholar of eighteenth century French architecture, and an occasional broadcaster for the BBC—to put in a good word for him.<sup>38</sup> However, it was six years later—after he had built a substantial resume of teaching, writing and editing—that he secured his first invitation from the BBC. By this time he had traveled at home and abroad, and led student trips to Scandinavia and Holland. He had become the founding member of Georgian Preservation Society. He had accrued four years of editorial experience at the *Architect and Building News*. He had written two critically acclaimed books (one cowritten with the BBC’s first architectural broadcaster, the charismatic Clough Williams-Ellis), and several articles in a wide spectrum of professional and quasi-professional press to his name.

Summerson was already an experienced orator. After finishing his architectural studies, he presented papers at RIBA and elsewhere, and taught architectural history at Edinburgh. He socialized in cultural circles where reciting and



performing orally among friends was commonplace. He had conversations on art and architecture with avant-garde artists and architectural establishment with similar ease. He moved in literary, musical and artistic circles with Paul Nash, Henry Moore, Barbara Hepworth (he married her sister, the talented ballerina, Elizabeth Hepworth), and was close to one of the greatest architectural orators of the time, H. S. Goodhart-Rendel. He frequented the editorial offices of the Architectural Press at Queens Gate and was a vocal member of the MARS Group where rhetorical use of language was a necessary skill for convincing the public of the virtues of modernism. In the interwar years, the public lecture was much more of a major genre than it is today. Summerson depended upon giving such lectures as a source of income, mainly to non-academic audiences. Then, prior to high performance projectors, one always relied far more on the evocative word than on the evocative image. In addition, he attended and occasionally gave papers at Warburg and Courtland Institutes where he used his background in English professional journalism and German methods of description and cultural analysis. In exposure to these diverse venues, he picked up a penchant for anomalous readings and a pioneer's instinct for tracing the origins of architectural modernity in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. But it was his talent for putting his point across in compelling and accessible prose that made him a good bet for giving the BBC's mandate a voice.

Though he brought his liberal education and training in rhetoric to the BBC, radio confronted him with a situation nothing like his other venues of cultural conversation. It was a new linguistic domain, an eerie territory—uncharted and untested.<sup>39</sup> It introduced an uncanny combination of intimacy and distance. Here one spoke, not to faces but to piece of equipment in a windowless room with padded walls, so one could neither hear nor be heard through them. You could never know how you sounded and how to anticipate the response. You had no idea who was listening and yet must assume that everyone was. It is difficult to imagine a more daunting and artificial an arrangement for conversation.

The space of radio, fractured between the site of recording, reception, and transmission, gave a rhetorician none of the safety net enjoyed on the page, nothing of the established norms of procedural deference and none of the predictable reactions of professionals and connoisseurs. Here, the orator was received elsewhere. He lost the benefit of established strategies for commanding attention, the devices that a trip to an actual museum, a walking tour, or a classroom lecture impart in and of themselves. While in face-to-face interaction I can interrupt my interlocutor allowing her to accommodate her pace and explanation to me, in a broadcast the two of us have no such luxury. The transfer of social interaction from public to the domestic space destroys the uniqueness, experience and memorability of physical interaction. A trip to a town or a RIBA show made vicariously is an

ordinary, less demanding event, even when you are paying attention. BBC's audience research showed that the vast majority of its audience, especially the one the BBC most wanted to reform, did not exercise the selectivity and discrimination mandated by reading. Most people treated radio as background noise.<sup>40</sup> *Listening in* was passive. Radio compelled speakers to compete for the consideration of listeners for whom, unlike museum-goers, listening was potentially one chore among many. Orators had to struggle against the tyranny of listener's power, so celebrated by Walter Benjamin, to shut a speaker off in mid-sentence.<sup>41</sup>

Summerson inhabited this auditory, verbal and ephemeral space with lively, almost pulsating narratives that capitalized on the expressive qualities of radio. If print had separated poetry from song, prose from oratory, and popular from educated speech, broadcasting was going to involve them in one another. One Wednesday afternoon in early June 1937, he took a train from Euston Station to the BBC's regional station in Manchester to broadcast the second episode in the series. He was speaking to the nation on one of Midland's most loved show houses, the Newstead Abbey. It was once the ancestral home of the intriguing and reviled romantic poet, Lord George Gordon Byron. It was not a long talk, about 20 minutes. The text was set in stone. The BBC producers, who wouldn't allow him to deviate a breath from it, had approved its every word. Dressed in a crisp shirt, tie, and summer jacket, he arrived at the station earlier than required.<sup>42</sup> The management paid him ten quid plus expenses for this program. But the effort he had put in was much more than the compensation. He had visited Newstead Abbey many times and then again in preparation of the broadcast that night, had carried out detailed research in archives, dug out the family documents, and diaries of owners, builders and proprietors. He had read published material on it. The aspiring broadcaster had gone through a ton of rehearsals. When it was time, his assistant-producer ushered him into a makeshift studio. The scriptwriter organized himself and waited for the light above the door to turn green:

Byron lived here. But in telling you about the house this evening I am not going to put Byron too much in the foreground. I would rather you picture the house and its history as something with a much wider claim to your attention. The Byron episode will fit naturally into its place when we come to it . . . Originally an Augustinian priory, the Abbey is Henry II's doing. He founded many monasteries to expiate his share in the murder of Thomas á Becket . . . Now let us look more closely at the house and try to picture it as Byron, the poet, knew it . . . But it is infinitely to the credit of pleasure-seekers, as well as to the tact and wisdom of Newstead's present guardians, that its character remains unspoiled . . . Whether we are drawn to Newstead by the beauty of its Gothic architecture or by its romantic and vivid associations with a great poet, we shall find it still lives up

to its reputation as one of the strangest and most haunting of the great houses of Midlands.<sup>43</sup> (figure 4.4)

The radiophonic revisitation of some of the most obvious examples of the English architectural canon used a number of strategies to engage the audience. They did not paint objective, distant images, which Elizabeth Eisenstein tells us is the legacy of writing and fixity of information on the printed page.<sup>44</sup> Nor did the narrative structure of Summerson's stories sound anything like the linearly progressing stories—moving climactically with upward progression, followed by a downward slope.<sup>45</sup> They grouped together sound bites. Each week chapels and libraries disorientingly appeared out of nowhere. The orator moves back and forth without making any attempt to walk his audience through plans or giving them an overview. Indirect connections pervaded the account. The descriptions were full of redundancy (frequent repetition) of salient points. They had an additive, aggregative character.

His prose was deceptively simple, and his style open-ended. The descriptions posed questions, happily leaving them unanswered. They did not strain the listener with complex or abstract statements. They simulated an air of spontaneity. They made themselves topical. They roped in current headlines. He made simple remarks to identify himself with the average middle-class listener. Ten years later when Summerson wrote a sequel to "Midland Homes," he had mastered the technique of relating to the audience. He began with a mention of the train ticket bought to visit Knole. This not only positioned him as a "visitor," it also referred to petrol rationing begun during the war, which undermined the already dwindling practice of interwar country house touring, before it exploded in the 1950s.

Perhaps you heard Edward Sackville-West's talk about Knole on the Home Service a few weeks ago—a beautiful, rather melancholy talk by someone who had been brought up in Knole and knew it as only very few people can ever know a great house. There was a picture of



**Figure 4.4.** Newstead Abbey, Nottingham, England, founded around 1170 by Henry II (photo Kar Haggie) garden facade.

the house against which I am bound to set a quite different picture; because it's one thing to have been brought up in Knole, to belong to it, to have been to some extent formed by one's intimacy with it; and it's another thing to take a return ticket from Charing Cross to Sevenoaks on a Saturday afternoon, to walk up to Knole, put down half-a-crown and be shown over the place in a matter of 50 minutes.<sup>46</sup> (figure 4.5)

These stories assimilated the analytical categories dear and familiar only to specialists to the more immediate, lived experience and familiar interactions of human beings. They captured the quality of architecture in a language saturated with commonplace picturesque adjectives. Characteristically, it was the vividness and sensuousness of picturesque language that scrutinized the architecture inspected and pin-point its springs.

This tact of presentation had the properties of not just Morton's *In Search* but also travel memoirs like William Howitt's *Visits to Remarkable Places* that appeared at the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>47</sup> This kind of writing was a blend of personal reminiscence, history, and description, and occasional polemic. Many of them functioned as essentially armchair guides. They were strong on atmosphere and weak in detail. In the same vein, these broadcasts did not paint tediously accurate images but took advantage of what words did best;



**Figure 4.5.** Edward W. Godwin, Castle Ashby, Northamptonshire, England, 1867 (photo Natalie James) added to the Castle dating back to 1306.

they created atmospheric impressions—of the “haunted” Ashby, the “quiet and dignified” library, or the “charm” (or lack thereof) of old churches. They handled allegorical reference and simile with masterful wit and made clever use of metaphor and analogy. “Perhaps because I imagined the tour as a sort of train journey,” he said, “I thought when we were shunted into the Brown Gallery that this really was a train—a first-class coach in which Shakespeare might very well have travelled up from Stratford.”<sup>48</sup>

Summerson’s work for the BBC at once departed and converged with his academic writing. His widely acclaimed essay on William Butterfield, for example, employs a masterful combination of formal reading ala Heinrich Wölfflin with sociological and cultural analysis that immersed the architect in the total life of the period, including religion, art, and literature. In the same stride, his study of the rise and fall of the neoclassical country house is built on a detailed analysis of eighteenth century plans, sections, and ornamental details. He explains the replacement of this building-type with the bourgeois villa in terms of the changing political dynamic between the weakening aristocracy and the emerging “gentlemen of moderate income,” the education of architects and craftsmen, relations between town and country living and so on. While his broadcasts situate buildings in the same larger context, they beg the same care in formal analysis.

Here one witnessed a compelling realization of vicarious walks through the haunting frames of Newstead Abbey, Knole, and other “Midland Houses” as wireless stories. They possessed the art of suspense, of quotations, of ellipsis, of metonymy; an art of conjuncture (current events, the audience) and occasions (disciplinary, cultural, radiophonic). It treated listeners to personal account of the circumstances in which the orator found himself in each location. He mentioned his anticipation, arrival at a site, and frustrations—having difficulty finding an entrance, trying to find it in the rain, and shortness of breath while cutting through the property. The disembodied voice sounded personable and warm. It evoked buildings through stories and events. It was alert to its occasion. Aired late at night on warm weeknights, it painted arresting scenes capable of holding the attention of an exhausted audience getting ready for bed and work the next day. One heard of mysterious and ominous piles of stones willing to divulge centuries of secrets, beliefs, stories and lives to the probing, curious, and patient eye of the informed visitor.

Summerson and the BBC created programming that was funny and intelligent, memorable and commanding. The narrative was embellished with anecdotal stories of the place, the myths surrounding it, the poets who wrote poems on it, the novelists who conceived plots for books there and so on. These performed an important function of adumbrating architecture’s past and future. Storytelling—which had loomed big in the atomized and monotonous world of agriculture and artisanship before print and industrial production—once again found a place, but now, in an age of anxiety and

distractions. Based permanently in the use of writing, his art possessed an essentially more deliberate and self-conscious orality.<sup>49</sup>

Discoursing on architectural history in the form of travelogues foreground the silenced “you” of the audience establishing a subliminal connection between the narrator, the site, and the listener.<sup>50</sup> This self-consciously radio-phonic treatment of the subject matter demanded by the BBC executives and sought by Summerson, created a McLuhian “hot” connection between the audience and the future of the past.<sup>51</sup> In his mouth, monuments became open-ended works, completed imaginatively both by those listening at home and those who would experience them in person. “Famous Houses” was well received all around. “Not a word edited . . . a new star is born,”<sup>52</sup> wrote the Regional Director at Birmingham proudly to his superiors in London, recommending his find for future use. Summerson owed this effectiveness primarily not to his scholarship (prodigious as it was), but rather to the talent of speaking to a phantom audience; his facility with combining the habits of literate thought (reflection and abstraction) and the qualities of oral thought (an index of human presence, spontaneity, and formulaic expression). It produced symbolic capital and belief in that capital, as if a compelling truth. Oral travelogues were not a means of persuasion. They were a hypnotic spell linking the remains of past to the framework of progressive taxation and democratic finance—otherwise antithetical to existing arrangements of preservation<sup>53</sup> Summerson’s travelogues fashioned the built environment the site where British visions of the past, present and future met in debate over national identity, disputes over history and modernity, and ideals of citizenship. This was an activist-history.

Two weeks after Newstead, John Summerson was on train again to the Midlands Regional Station, this time to talk about Rushton Hall. It was the fourth stop on the tour. Like the rest, it was one of the most obvious examples of the architectural canon without which no English pattern book or history of Styles could be complete. In disciplinary circles, it was discussed mainly for the importance in the artistic pedigree and evolution of style.

I chose Rushton because of the special alliance of architecture with history there. It is one of those houses, which calls up vividly a particular age and particular people. . . . I fancy that in a man of not very robust personality but intense desire to do something in the world, building was a very valuable emotional outlet . . . The triangular Lodge is the queerest and the most sinister place of architecture I know . . . The last time I saw it was on a still Thursday evening late in the year. Long shadows stretched across the walls, exaggerating the grotesque intricacies of the detail. The air was full of nightmare brilliance of Autumn decay and it struck me that the lodge itself was the sort of thing you might very well come across in a nightmare. It is loaded with ornaments, yet there are no real windows, only three sides, so



**Figure 4.6.** Condovery Hall, Oragery at Castle Ashby, Northamptonshire, England, 1867 (right photo, Eva Owens, left photo Dave Owens).

the corners are sharp and menacing. At the top is a cluster of nine tiny gables—three on each side—with a great chimney disguised as a pinnacle rising from the midst of them. What is the meaning of it all?<sup>54</sup> (figure 4.6)

Summerson's discussion of the structures, characteristically, steered free of such history. At Rushton, one learnt about the circumstances in which the main house was laid in 1438, its expansions, neglect, rehabilitations, and preservation by subsequent owners and lodgers. He described the famous Triangular Lodge on its grounds, designed and built by a prominent sixteenth century trader and devout Roman Catholic called Sir Thomas Tresham. Tresham was imprisoned for fifteen years for refusing to convert to Protestantism.<sup>55</sup> He conceived the Lodge on the property during this time and built it for himself after being freed between 1593–97. Summerson described its imagery and its obsession with the number three—three sides, three floors, trefoil windows and three triangular gables on each side. He saw it as a representation of the Holy Trinity, concluding that it was probably a place for prayer. The Lodge emerged as a symbol of Tresham's religious zeal and an expression of the antagonistic relationship between the Roman Catholics and Queen Elizabeth in late sixteenth century. The material survival of the building extended an otherwise transitory moment and life into the future beyond its natural course:

It is still the figure of Sir Thomas Tresham, which emerges most clearly from the past of Rushton Hall. His anxiety to record in solid stone the symbolism of his faith and his own passionate belief in it has had its reward; for to anybody who has been to and penetrated the thickets which hide the Triangular Lodge, to anybody who has



**Figure 4.7.** Compton Wynyates, Warwickshire, England, founded around 1481 (photo Paul Ashton).

been to the forlorn but beautiful ruin of the New Building at Lyveden, Thomas Tresham is a very real and admirable person.<sup>56</sup> (figure 4.7)

Architecture immortalized, listeners heard nothing of the stylistic influences that may have informed the layout and appearance of the Elizabethan house. They got nothing on the lineage of the triangular Lodge that stands in its lavish grounds or the alternating bands of dark and light limestone that clad it. Nor was there any mention of its significance in the popularity of follies in eighteenth century English and French gardens. This preoccupation with human behavior and social history would inform Summerson's most influential written history of Georgian London (1946).

### **Conclusion: Summerson and the History of Architecture**

Freed from the norms of the history of style, buildings were explained as an aspect of human behavior. Rushton Hall became an embodiment of social relations, historical events and artistic facility. Its monuments and their artistic expressions were not just a matter of *apriori* genius, but social conventions. They involved the relationship between the nobility, the rising merchant class, the shifts in the system of patronage, and the state of architectural production. The narratives accounted for the artistic will and talent and the master builder's control over scale and proportions, materials, the skill of the artisans in detailing and finishes (figure 4.8). The British architectural canon was seized as a product of contemplation and chance events, success, and failure. Houses and gardens were ledgers of the history of ideas, changing





**Figure 4.8.** John Vanbrugh, Blenheim Palace view from near the Secret Garden, Oxfordshire, England, 1705–24 (photo Kathy Pearmain).

conceptions of architecture, and the education of the architect: “The great home of Castle Ashby recalls in its fabric and furnishing, every phase of this ancient dynasty . . . Tudors, Stuarts, Georgians, Victorians; each has contributed something to the shape of the Castle Ashby.”<sup>57</sup>

Condover Hall, the grand sixteenth-century manor house in Shropshire, exemplified how “the Elizabethans loved symmetry—the more elaborate and precise the better. It was part of their discovery that house-building was not only useful and necessary but rather amusing as well.” Their destinies were ever changing. “Today it is a hospital for ladies suffering from nervous breakdowns—its quietness and dignity made it well fitted for such a purpose.”<sup>58</sup> At Castle Ashby, when “Capability Brown came to improve its gardens, he did away with the old formal gardens, faded out some of the avenues rather ruthlessly and did his best to make the place ‘look natural’ so to speak. I’m glad to say he left the great entrance avenue, which is one of the glories of Castle Ashby to-day and I’m grateful to him too for his charming artificial lakes and for the little temple which he built above them to give the scene a pictorial touch.”<sup>59</sup> Since then, many others showcased their talent there, most notably, Sir Digby Wyatt and E. D. Godwin.

These performances fashioned the architectural historian in the character of a narrator who revealed the history of form as a different dimension of history.<sup>60</sup> The “splendid” Blenheim, “the symbol of its age,” and the birth house of Winston Churchill was a tale of the precarious relationship between the queen (the provider of state funds for the palace) and the duchess of Marlborough

(the recipient and the user of these funds for construction); the conflicting choice of architects and tastes of the duke and the duchess, and the animosity between her and the architect Sir John Vanbrugh. Competing conventions and the battle of wills were shot through the history of artistic genius and mediocrity. John Vanbrugh was crowned as “the only Englishman who ever raised architecture to something near the Shakespearian plane,” but whose mastery looked entirely over the top to current spectators. Once the taste for baroque theatricality dwindled, Blenheim, the orator reminded everyone, was often ridiculed “for its size and heaviness.”<sup>61</sup> Kentchurch Court showed “merciless reconstruction; but after all you couldn’t expect the eighteenth century Scudamores to live in a medieval museum.”<sup>62</sup>

For Summerson’s friend and co-travel guide, John Betjeman, the self-indulgent enjoyment of physical remains of the past by a tourist was an act of resistance. It withheld in men the primal human faculty of feeling in the face of dehumanizing and mechanistic tendencies of contemporary politics and market forces. Betjeman’s intellectual project was to redraw the boundaries of culture by drawing architectural history out of the musty books into the fresh air of popular consumption.<sup>63</sup> While the broadcaster of “Midland Homes,” shared this desire, for him, the problem of architectural scholarship was not the overintellectualization that Betjeman saw, but a lack thereof. Architectural historians and antiquarians had not treated their object intellectually enough to make it pertinent to anyone other than themselves.

To Summerson, architecture and architectural history ought to identify different classes of British with one another. In the culture of listening that involved all people in all others at all times, buildings, one learnt, treated their interlocutors to “a glorious family album of architecture.” This album “becomes more intimate and more amusing the more you know about the family.” It led one to realize that the physical environment was not the doing of only Great Men but also the whole society. It involved decisions not by the same but “various people whose business it is to look after these matters.”<sup>64</sup> It was the handiwork of technocrats and experts of different mindsets. It was the scrutinizing, comparing, remembering eye that would reveal buildings at once as the trappings of life and political products. “Looking at the past of the town gives you some confidence in judging what is appropriate for the present.” Like oral stories, they were never finished. Every generation made them their own according to the circumstances. “Building gazing,” their “reading” and “visiting” made everyone a creative participant, an inventor, keeping the past always reactive and never finished.

Postwar reconstruction would give these autodidactic tourists an opportunity to participate in how buildings should govern their lives. In looking about oneself, the spectator assimilated into the corporate life of the nation. In these examples of looking about oneself, one found an irreverent mixing of influences. They meld continental and British modes of writing, academic

and popular sources, architectural and non-architectural concerns in ways that could not be dissociated from the electric means and speed of moving information. Here one detected something of the robust sociological analysis of the kind developed by the Swiss cultural and art historian Jacob Burckhardt, meeting the tradition social history beginning to take hold in Britain. Then there was a flavor of the methodological strategies of German art history that recently landed in London. The travelogues also recall the lessons of academic art historians at the Courtland Institute (1930), Warburg Institute (relocated from Hamburg to London in 1933) and figures like Nikolaus Pevsner (1933) and Rudolf Wittkower (1934).

From these venues and personages, Summerson picked up an aspiration to exercise architectural history as an autonomous discipline—the romantic and modernist quest for “pure eye” and “disinterested judgment” sealed off from real-life concerns—that derives from the feel for autonomous utterance created by writing, and even more, the feel for closure created by print. But the electronic age repudiates the very word “disinterested.” Expressing the loftiest detachment and ethical integrity of typographic man, it is now looked upon as disengaged, even insignificant. Summerson combines the fragmenting and analytic power of the disinterested thought with the accessibility of British journalistic and travel writing, to create an entirely new kind of discourse for wireless diffusion. The English architect H. S. Goodhart-Rendel and travel writer Robert Byron, for both of whom Summerson had a deep fondness, exemplified the amateur architectural journalism. Finally, there was the influence of his diverse intellectual and cultural (interdisciplinary) milieu that went far beyond those of most practicing architects of his day. If topography took the process of separation (or explosion) of functions, at all levels and in all spheres, electronic orality and Summerson’s program to reform of taste and knowledge involved nothing less than the elimination of “dissociation of sensibility” that it gave us. “Autonomous thought” in Summerson’s historiography had the quality of a “moral action.” He, as Carlo Olmo has noticed, accepted his task as the writing of “culture for mass market society,” but he conceived of it as an “intellectual process.”<sup>65</sup> He furnished “patient, pedantic, and often pedestrian interpretations that deliberately set out to be educative,” so that the intellectual process would be evident and pertinent to a “consumerist and inattentive society.”<sup>66</sup>

Summerson’s travelogues were a two-sided critique of the tradition of populist architectural criticism, on radio best represented by John Betjeman, and the pedantic historiography practiced by the likes of his teacher A. E. Richardson and Reginald Blomfield. Men who “held sharp pencils in their hands,” they “sketched what they wrote about and wrote about what they sketched.”<sup>67</sup> Written in their sketchbooks, architectural history became mainly a catalogue of reproducible details, individual inspiration, and “purely English” visual tradition—if there ever could be such a thing. Unlike this partisan history, Summerson’s analysis was based on the judgment of the distancing eye that held preestablished

merits of this or that style in abeyance and was impervious to fashionable tastes and opinions. Devoid of physical, visual, and the formal accompaniment, oral information allowed Summerson to pull history out of the old operative function to which architectural practice had currently submitted it.

Summerson showed listeners ways to develop a probing eye. A scrutinizing gaze should be able to develop an opinion independent of the official guides. “I cannot reconcile the overpowering and deliberate violence of the carved screen, which fills up one end of the hall” at one house with the guide’s description “good style of architecture.” “It shocks,” he complained, “and I imagine that those squat Amazon torsos with sawn-off arms and staring eyes on that fulsome heraldry bulging out of the panels was meant to shock.” For “it’s barbaric, strangely unlike anything else.” He compared. “Compare, for instance, this horrifying screen with the chimney-piece and mural ornaments in the Cartoon Gallery—no less elaborate, no less quaint in their details but as soft and caressing as Milanda’s speeches in *The Tempest*.”<sup>68</sup> This inspecting visitor parsed truth from rumor by examining the physical evidence, as it stood in 1937. The high and thick walls of Newstead Abbey revealed the secrets buried under them. Its ruins divulged the mysteries and rumors surrounding them. “Compton Wynyates” unraveled the marks of history left on the red walls and the impression of the house on the countryside (figure 4.9).<sup>69</sup> Summerson at once conveyed an acute sense of buildings, not as closed or finished objects.



**Figure 4.9.** Great Hall at Knole, Kent, England, originally built between 1456 and 1486 (photo Glenister).

They were not seen as the work of one but many hands, made not in one moment but part of a historic continuum. They were written and rewritten by every successive generation. Listeners could picture them in their imagination and visitors experience them on their own terms. Herein lay a do-it-yourself and participatory vision of heritage, courtesy of radiophonic storytelling and the emergent culture of modern listening.

### Notes

1. John Summerson, "Blenheim Palace," transcript of broadcast travelogue, aired on 4 Aug. 1937, part VII of *Famous Midland Houses*, Sir John Summerson Papers, Su/10/1, RIBA Collections.
2. By one estimate 7 percent of the total stock of country houses was demolished. This amounted to hundreds of houses. John Harris, "Gone to Ground," in Roy Strong et al., eds., *The Destruction of the Country House, 1875–1975* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1968), 16.
3. Peter Mandler, *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997), 251.
4. *Ibid.*, 252.
5. John Summerson, "Bombed Architecture in the West," transcript of broadcast travel, aired on 6 April 1942, Sir John Summerson Papers, Su/10/1, RIBA Collections.
6. Summerson's best-known production for the BBC is *The Classical Language of Architecture* (London: British Broadcasting Corporation, 1963). It, however has not mentioned because it was created for television, not radio.
7. Milman Parry, *The Making of Homeric Verse: The Collected Papers of Milman Parry*, ed. Adam Parry (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1971).
8. Walter Benjamin, "Storyteller" in *Illuminations* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1968), 91–92.
9. Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), 34.
10. *Ibid.*, 20.
11. Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (London and New York: Routledge, 1982), 72, 136.
12. *Ibid.*, 72.
13. Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extension of Man* (London: Routledge, 1964), 302.
14. J. C. Stobart to Reith, memorandum entitled "Wireless University" (8 October 1926), 2, Education—Adult Education, Papers and Reports 1924–1934, R14/145/1, File 1a, BBC Written Archives Centre (WAC) Caversham.
15. John C. W. Reith, *Broadcast Over Britain* (London: Hodder and Stoughton Limited, 1924) and *Into the Wind* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1949), Hilda Matheson, *Broadcasting* (London: Thornton Butterworth, 1933), Richard Stanton Lambert, *Ariel and All His Quality: An Impression of the BBC from Within* (London: V. Gollancz, 1940).
16. Adrian Tinniswood, *A History of Country House Visiting: Five Centuries of Tourism and Taste* (Oxford: National Trust, 1989), 156.
17. In 1931, the establishment of Youth Hostels Association provided cheap accommodation to townspeople in the country. In 1939, it recorded 537,986

stays. The interwar period was marked by a growing craze for hiking and walking. Starting in the 1870s, by the 1930s, there were 600 ramblers clubs with 50,000 members. This was accompanied from the 1880s onward by a steady growth in the cyclists to the countryside. The Cyclists' Touring Club (CTC) and other cyclist organizations influenced the improvement of road conditions and signposts around the country. It negotiated fixed accommodation and meal rates at hotels for cyclists. Automobile Association did the same for the motorists. In 1938, fewer than 20 percent households had cars in South East England and 12 percent in North England. The motorcar was enmeshed in ideas of individual freedom and was said to give the motoring family the opportunity to explore Britain independently, but it seems that all too often they chose to travel the same, all too popular roads. Tinniswood, *A History of Country House Visiting*, 155, Sean O'Connell, *The Car in British Society: Class, Gender and Motoring 1896–1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998).

18. John Helen Pussard, "50 Places Rolled into One': The Development of Domestic Tourist Pleasure Grounds in Inter-war England," in *Histories of Tourism: Representation, Identity, and Conflict*, ed. K. Walton (Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2005). John Benson, *The Rise of Consumer Society in Britain, 1880–1980* (London and New York: Longman, 1994).
19. This was a custom that benefited the landed gentry that was enshrined for centuries, going back to the Land Enclosure Acts of the eighteenth century.
20. For the opposition between aristocratic and people's heritage in the 1930s see Mandler, *The Rise and Fall of Stately Homes*, Martin Daunt, *Trusting Leviathan: The Politics of Taxation in Britain, 1799–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), Gordon E. Mingay, *A Social History of the English Countryside* (New York & London: Routledge, 1990), and David Matless, *Landscape and Englishness* (London: Reaktion Books, 1998).
21. Mandler, *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home*, 240.
22. *Ibid.*, 271–2.
23. These programs are part of the BBC's much greater investment in oral travelogues. While their exact number is unknown, at the end of the decade, they were a daily occurrence. Each weekday one of the five regional stations showcased its locality's rich contribution to national heritage. Scotland brought the visitors to Dundee, "up to date in their knowledge of the city: its history, industry, culture and amenity." Wales got the geologist W. F. Grimes to give tips on reading their caves in "How to Read the Welsh Countryside." West gave a tour of Falmouth and presented the "radio picture as it was in the olden days, and as it is today." North Ireland displayed its special attractions and the Midlands took the format to a new level of exuberance. The extensive enterprise drew aesthetes and intellectuals from all walks of life—civic-minded literary modernists (Geoffrey Grigson, Evelyn Waugh, E. M. Foster and Rebecca West), and archeologists (Bernard Ashmole and Stanley Casson). There were Union-leaning clergymen, Liberal geologists, politicians, lords, and duchesses; all forging a broadcast national culture.
24. Henry Vollam Morton, *In Search of England* (London, Methuen, 1927).
25. For Geoffrey Bournemouth, see "Along the Roman Roads," *Listener* May to July 1934, broadcast from May 23, 1934 to July 4, 1934, "Down River," *Listener* July to August 1936, broadcast from July 8, 1936 to August 26, 1936, "Ulster

- Holiday," *Listener* August to October 1937, broadcast as part of *Out of Doors*, undated, transcript for all at BBC WAC.
- For John Betjeman see "Waterloo Bridge is Falling Down," *Listener* 7, no. 163 (1932: 24 February): 260, broadcast talk, February 17, 1932, "Town Tours," broadcast in 1937, "Beside the Seaside," 1937, "How to Look at a Church," *Listener* 20:504 (1938: 8 September): 199–200, broadcast, August 31, 1938, all published in Stephen Games, *Trains and Buttered Toast, Selected Radio Talks: John Betjeman* (London: John Murray, 2006), transcript BBC WAC.
26. John Summerson, "An Archive for Architecture" transcript of broadcast, aired on 25 Sept. 1944, Sir John Summerson Papers, SuJ/10/1, RIBA Collections.
  27. Christy Anderson, "A Very Personal Renaissance," in *Summerson and Hitchcock: Centenary Essay on Architectural Historiography*, ed. Frank Salmon (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), 82.
  28. Summerson, "An Archive for Architecture."
  29. Ibid.
  30. Richard Lambert, "Editorial: The Ugliness Exhibition," *Listener* 1, no. 7 (1929: 27 February): 240.
  31. Ibid.
  32. John Summerson, "Premises coming Down," *Listener* 17, no. 425 (1937: 3 March): 393.
  33. For the specific zealousness and different perspectives of the BBC personnel and associates on the use of broadcasting to create a cultured and enlightened polity see D. G. Bridson, *Prospero and Ariel: The Rise and Fall of Radio* (London: Gollancz, 1972), Matheson, *Broadcasting*, Roger Huxley Eckersley, *B.B.C. and All That: Autobiographical Reminiscences* (London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co., 1946); Hilda Jennings and Winifred Gill, *Broadcasting in Everyday Life* (London: BBC, 1939); Lambert, *Ariel and All His Quality*, Reith, *Broadcast Over Britain and Into the Wind*, Charles A. Siepmann, "Wireless and Adult Education in Great Britain," *Journal of the American Association of University Women* 22 (Jan. 1929): 57–60, "The Mechanization of Education," *Spectator* 147 (28 Nov. 1931): 728–29, "Can Radio Educate?" *Education by Radio* 11 (First Quarter, 1941): 25–26, and "Can Radio Educate?" *Journal of Educational Sociology* 14 (Feb. 1941): 346–57. These references show the BBC's attempts to make mutually supportive public education, the market economy and the ideal of a good society.
  34. Matheson, *Broadcasting*, Chapter III: "Living Speech,"; and John Reith, quoted in Paddy Scannell and David Cardiff, *Social History of British Broadcasting: Serving the Nation 1922–1939* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 10.
  35. Kate Whitehead, *The Third Programme: A Literary History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), Jennifer Doctor, *BBC and the Ultra Modern Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), Shundana Yusaf, "Wireless Sites: Architecture in the Space of British Radio (1927–1945)" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2011).
  36. Letter from H.S. Goodhart-Rendel to Captain R. Parker (Oct. 17, 1938), "Goodhart-Rendel Papers, General Correspondence British Broadcasting Corporation, Various Departments, Letters of Congratulation 1937–56 (2), G-ReH/15/2," RIBA Collections, London.
  37. For transmission hours and content see *Radio Times* and *BBC Program Indexes* (London: British Broadcasting Corporation, 1927–1945).

38. Letter from Sir Reginald Blomfield to the BBC Talks Assistant Director (24 May 1937), Reginald Blomfield, Personal File 1, BBC WAC.
39. Gerhard Leitner, "The Social Background of the Language of Radio" in *Language, Image, Media*, ed. H. Davis and P. Walton (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983), Joshua A. Fishman, *The Sociology of Language: An Interdisciplinary Social Sciences Approach to Language in Society* (Massachusetts: Newbury House, 1972).
40. Hilda Jennings and Winifred Gill, *Broadcasting in Everyday Life* (London: BBC, 1939). Reith commissioned two sociologists at Birmingham University to look into the influence of radio on the patterns of family and social life. Their findings revealed that
41. Walter Benjamin, "Reflections of Radio," in *Walter Benjamin, Selected Writings*, vol. 2, ed. Michael Jennings and Marcus Bullock (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, vol. II, 1996), 543–4.
42. For the importance of dress code for broadcasters see Ross McKibbin, "Listening In," in *Classes and Cultures: England 1918–1951* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 459–60.
43. John Summerson, "Newstead Abbey," transcript of broadcast travelogue, undated, part II of *Famous Midland Houses*, Sir John Summerson Papers, SuJ/10/1, RIBA Collections.
44. A detailed discussion of the possible effects of typographical fixity on the imagination of architecture can be seen in the sporadic notes spread throughout in Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), vol. 1; Mario Carpo, *Architecture in the Age of Printing: Orality, Writing, Typography, and Printed Images in the History of Architectural Theory*, trans. Sarah Benson (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001) attributes the ongoing imitative work of Renaissance architects to typographic fixity.
45. Thomas J. Farrell, "Differentiating Writing and Talking," in *College Composition and Communication* 29, no. 4, (Dec. 1978), 346–50. For an insightful discussion of "Freytag's pyramid" see Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word*, 142–8.
46. John Summerson, "Knole," transcript of broadcast travelogue, aired on 24 April 1947, part of *Historic Houses of England*, BBC Written Archives Centre (WAC) Caversham.
47. William Howitt, *Visits to Remarkable Places* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1882).
48. Summerson, "Knole."
49. For the history and properties of storytelling in Medieval Europe, see Ruth Crosby, "Oral Delivery in the Middle Ages," *Speculum* 11, no. 1 (Jan. 1936): 88–110.
50. Here I follow Marshall McLuhan's classic idea of "hot mediums." Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1964, 1991). I, however, do not fully accept his structural framework in which history and future is an already prefigured spectacle and that treats historical actors as automatons who just slip into roles with prefigured destinies. Structures are there, no doubt about it. I have looked at the medium of radio, the institution of the BBC, the state of scholarship in



- architecture, etc but I see them as creating situations that are then maneuvered by (socially and historically conditioned) actors with different degree of practical ingenuity.
51. Summerson, "Knole."
52. Assistant Director Midlands, memo to Director Talks in London, 24 May 1937, John Summerson Personal File 1937–1944, BBC Written Archives Centre (WAC) Caversham.
53. For preservation see Mandler, *The Fall and Rise of Stately Homes*.
54. John Summerson, "Rushton Hall," transcript of broadcast travelogue, aired 23 June 1937, part IV of *Famous Midland Houses*, Sir John Summerson Papers, SuJ/10/1, RIBA Collections.
55. "Sir Thomas Tresham," National Trust, [http://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/main/w-vh/w-visits/w-findaplace/w-lyvedennewbield/w-lyvedennewbield-history/w-lyvedennewbield-history-thomas\\_tresham.htm](http://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/main/w-vh/w-visits/w-findaplace/w-lyvedennewbield/w-lyvedennewbield-history/w-lyvedennewbield-history-thomas_tresham.htm) (accessed 4 Apr. 2009).
56. Summerson, "Rushton Hall."
57. John Summerson, "Castle Ashby," transcript of broadcast travelogue, aired on 18 July 1937, part VI of *Famous Midland Houses*, Sir John Summerson Papers, SuJ/10/1, RIBA Collections.
58. John Summerson, "Condoover Hall," transcript of broadcast travelogue, aired on 6 July 1937, part V of *Famous Midland Houses*, Sir John Summerson Papers, SuJ/10/1, transcript RIBA Collections.
59. Summerson, "Castle Ashby."
60. Cf. Caroline van Eck, "Artisan Mannerism: Seventeenth-Century Rhetorical Alternatives to Sir John Summerson's Formalist Approach," in *Summerson and Hitchcock: Centenary Essay on Architectural Historiography*.
61. Summerson, "Blenheim Palace."
62. John Summerson, "Kentchurch Court," transcript of broadcast travelogue, aired on 6 June 1937, part III of *Famous Midland Houses*, Sir John Summerson Papers, SuJ/10/1, RIBA Collections.
63. See the transcripts of Betjeman's broadcasts in Stephen Games, *Trains and Buttered Toast, Selected Radio Talks: John Betjeman* (London: John Murray, 2006).
64. John Summerson, "How to Look at a Town," broadcast travel, Sir John Summerson Papers, SuJ/10/1, February 10, 1945, transcript RIBA Collections.
65. Carlo Olmo "International Architecture, Historical Research and Working Critique," *Zodiac*, no. 18 (September-February 1997–98): 89.
66. Olmo "International Architecture, Historical Research and Working Critique."
67. Sir John Summerson, "Royal Gold Medal Award: Sir John Summerson's Tribute to Nikolaus Pevsner" in *The Architects' Journal* (28 June 1967): 1523.
68. Summerson, "Knole."
69. Raymond Williams has argued that Marxist interpretation of culture, widely effective in England from the 1930s onward, agreed that arts were "dependent upon social change." But characteristically, English Marxists could not agree about the passivity of this dependence. Culture, since then has been accepted, not merely as ideology but as a mover and shaker of economic and class relations. Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society: 1780–1950* (New York: Colombia University Press), 265–84.

# Drawing Out a Modern Point of View: Projecting Architecture through Simultaneity, Abstraction, Dissection, and Montage

*Hilary Bryon*

## Introduction

Throughout his career, the French engineer Auguste Choisy (1841–1909) studied historic architecture and produced several books on the “art of building.” Remarkably, the pictorial representations accompanying his many publications suggest an unfolding spirit of modernity relating to architectural space. In particular, the drawings accompanying his *Histoire de l'architecture* (1899) demonstrated new methods of envisioning architecture, including one often regarded as the twentieth century’s iconic form of architectural representation, axonometric parallel projection.

Although the hundreds of drawings that accompany the *Histoire* seem at first to be simply retrospective illustrations, they actually transcend this function to act as projective models. Choisy developed a deliberate, rational mode of visual expression to communicate the spatio-tectonic attributes of architecture. He systematically combined emergent techniques of simultaneity, abstraction, dissection, and montage with parallel projection to re-present the buildings of history in a novel way. The parallel projections display an intimate simultaneity between plan, section, interior, and elevation in one cohesive scaled drawing. The worm’s-eye view introduces a novel spatial understanding, while the qualities and systemization of abstraction parallel and fortify the logical, concise language of his theoretical discourse. Choisy’s drawings, edited with the intent to project his contemporary conceptual lens, modify the historic artifact and reveal a modern vision of the rational and structural dynamism of architecture.

Examining Choisy's drawing techniques reveals how his projected visions transcend their context as mere illustrations of history and thoroughly advance not only rational principles of architecture, but also a new way of conceiving architecture through a new way of envisioning architecture.

### **The Space of Axonometry: Infinity and Reversibility**

*The new architecture . . . doesn't distinguish front from back, left from right and, if possible, neither up from down . . . , axonometry is the method most appropriate for designing the new spatial architecture.<sup>1</sup>*

Principally, Choisy brought forth a novel form of architectural pictorial representation via two related means—parallel projection and the worm's-eye view. In doing so, he challenged architecture's previous pictorial convention and perspective, and established an alternative mode of envisioning an architectural form that more appropriately engaged modern architectural ideals and emerging conceptions of space.

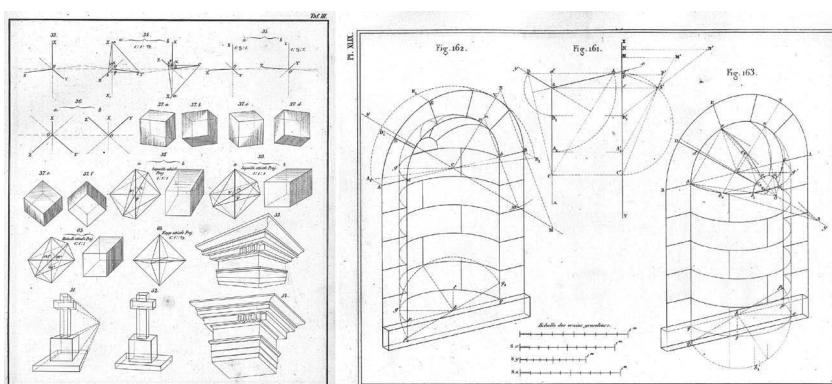
Perspective, which is a central projection, was developed during the Renaissance to render an optically true pictorial representation. Concurrently, parallel projection developed from a will to pictorially record technical objects with measured accuracy. This occurred first via oblique parallel projection and eventually, in the mid-nineteenth century, by means of orthographic axonometric projection.<sup>2</sup> Unlike perspective projection, in which the projectors meet at a fixed point in space, parallel projectors are said to meet at infinity. The parallelism of infinite space not only supported the measured depiction of an object, but also became a device to reveal and idealize space itself.

Axonometry was founded on pure, mathematical three-dimensional spatial principles, and the resultant representation not only has true measure but true relation in space. In 1844, German mathematician and engineer Prof. Julius Weisbach theorized that points could be projected by their coordinates on the axial planes of a three-dimensional axis system and that the coordinate axes could be reduced in scale relative to their angles of inclination to the picture plane.<sup>3</sup> Although Weisbach geometrically delineated this new axis system, he did not use the term axonometric. That is attributed to the Meyer brothers, academics, and engineers who in 1852 proposed that the axis system comprising isometric, dimetric, and trimetric projections be named axonometry and the method be called axonometric projection.<sup>4</sup> Whereas Weisbach's work was exclusively theoretical, Meyer and Meyer comprehensively explored axonometric projection's theory and practice, particularly the representational potential of the spatial characteristics of axonometry.<sup>5</sup>

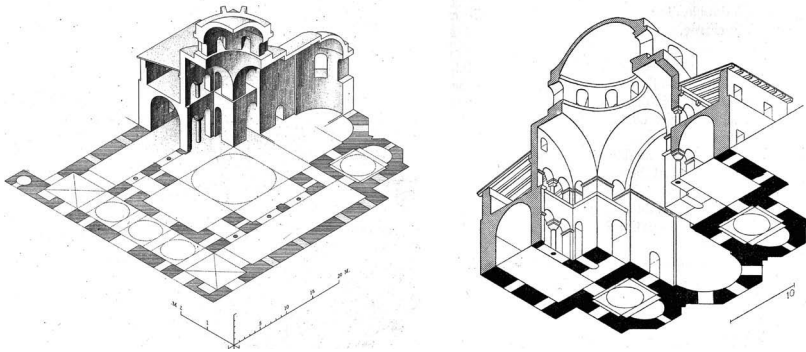
The drawing itself was to be constructed in space and was bound to its axiality.<sup>6</sup> The axonometric is assembled by first determining the desired orientation of the axonometric axes that parallel the orientation of the object to be drawn, in

space. The rotational freedom of the axonometric allows the drawing's creator to revolve the axes, thus placing the viewpoint of the observer in the most natural, or logical, position. The Meyers stipulate that establishing a *point of view* does not conclude with the selection of an axis system. Within the same axis system and ratio of reduction, there can be varied points of view. The inherent multi-dimensional spatiality of an axis system allows for reversibility. The potential of inverse bias within an axis system is demonstrated by the Meyers in one of the plates appended to their *Lehrbuch* (figure 5.1, left). Meyers' figures 36 (a-b) and 37 (a-f) show a dimetric axis system with a ratio of 1/2:1:1 and its varied transpositions. Axis lines are articulated forward and then backward and a cube can be viewed, from below, above, and to the side, in six different positions. The related views and relational emphasis foreshadow the intentioned spatial plasticity pursued by twentieth-century architects and artists. Clearly, views fabricated by axonometric projection correlate with an emerging, modern conception of objectivity, and consequently of the object and man *in space*.

Auguste Choisy applies similar transpositions in his drawings, and his introduction to the idea can be traced to his years at the Ecole Polytechnique between 1861 and 1863. Professor of descriptive geometry and stereotomy Jules de la Gournerie was influential in the formation of Choisy's practice of "rapid perspective," or parallel projection. On November 9, 1861, Choisy was introduced to axonometry and four days later, oblique projection.<sup>7</sup> The former was conveyed via the drawing of a niche and this was likewise included in Gournerie's treatise on descriptive geometry published between 1860 and 1864 (figure 5.1b).<sup>8</sup> The niche's orientation is set with the isolated trimetric axis and the relative reductions of the scales of each inclined axis are determined by projection (*figure 161*); consequently, two representations of the niche within



**Figure 5.1.** M. H. Meyer and C. Th. Meyer, *Lehrbuch der axonometrischen projectionslehre* (Leipzig: H. Haessel, 1855–1863) Plate III (left); Jules de la Gournerie, *Traité de Géométrie Descriptive* (Paris: Mallet-Bachelier, 1860–64) Part I, Plate XLIX (right).



**Figure 5.2.** Left, bird's-eye view isometric of Agia Sophia, Thessaloniki, Greece. Choisy, *L'art de bâtir chez les Byzantins* (Paris: Société anonyme de publications périodiques, 1883) Plate XXIII, detail. Right, worm's-eye view isometric of Agia Sophia, Thessaloniki, Greece. Choisy, *Histoire de l'architecture* (Paris: Gauthier-Villars, 1899), Vol. 2, 48.

this axis system's ratio of reduction are drawn, one from the front (*figure 162*) and one front behind (*figure 163*). Here, the relational bias does not result in ambiguity but meaningful reversibility. Two spatially different but tectonically and spatially codependent views of the niche are recorded. Choisy similarly manipulates the reversibility of axonometry. He twice included drawings of the domed Agia Sophia in Thessaloniki in his writings. The first instance is a bird's-eye view isometric projection, published in the *L'art de bâtir chez les Byzantins*, 1883, and the second example, in the *Histoire*, reverses the emphasis via a worm's-eye isometric projection (*figure 5.2*). The two views, despite the identical axis system, render different insights into the architecture. The bird's-eye view presents an overview, where ordering, organizational systems, and massing are predominant. The opposite aspect, the worm's-eye view, not only coalesces the elements that make the architecture but also articulates the space that the assembly delimits. Thus, one sees that the reversibility of parallel projection, emphasized via the up-view in this case, allows space itself to be engaged as an equally critical component of architecture.

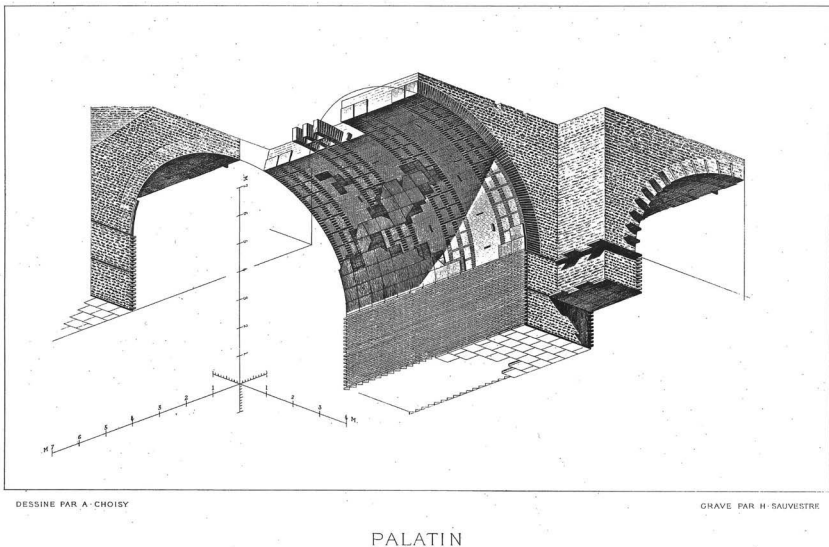
### The Worm's-Eye View: Simultaneity

*In this system, one sole image, moving and animated like the building itself, takes the place of abstract figuration fractured into plan, section, and elevation. The reader has under his eyes simultaneously, the plan, the exterior of the building, its section and its interior arrangement.<sup>9</sup>*

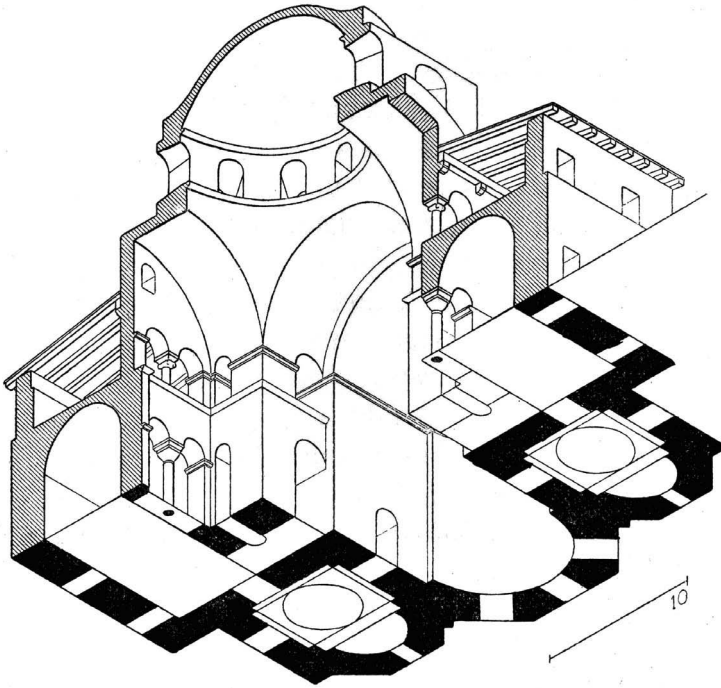
Choisy first turned to parallel projection while measuring, documenting, and analyzing the extant ruins of Roman vaulting. With an architect father and a

personal interest in archeology, the future civil engineer and professor was well positioned to synthesize a tectonic understanding of architectural artifacts with a spatial approach toward their measured representation. All the plates in his first publication, *L'art de bâtir chez les Romains* (1873), contain oblique and axonometric parallel projections of the vaults of the Romans—from below (figure 5.3). Since the nature of Roman construction is hidden from above and the geometry of axonometry clearly asserts free rotation, the inside-up view parallel projections allowed for not only the tectonic system, but it also illustrates the space of Roman vaults to be materialized. The viewer is pulled inside and imaginatively inhabits the tectonically constructed space. The up-view is phenomenally paramount, and one parallel projection is able to simultaneously convey a vaulted structure's construction, principle, image, form, dimensions, and space.

Such simultaneity is amplified in Choisy's drawings for the *Histoire de l'architecture*. Choisy moves the point of view of these parallel projections from the more pictorial up-view to a completely imaginary position below the horizontal ground plane—a worm's-eye view (see figures 5.3, 5.4, and 5.5). Given the comprehensive scope of the *Histoire*, the isolated depictions of Roman vaults give way to figures of whole buildings that lay bare the essential elements and spaces that reflect each civilization's tectonic spatial character. Via the worm's-eye view, the plan becomes a fundamental constituent of the complex of elements that make the whole. The worm's-eye view parallel projections



**Figure 5.3.** Left, up-view dimetric projection reveals a barrel vault on the Palatine. Choisy, *L'art de bâtir chez les Romains* (Paris: Ducher, 1873) Plate VI.



**Figure 5.4.** Worm's-eye view isometric of the domed Hagia Sophia, Istanbul, Turkey. Choisy, *Histoire de l'architecture* (Paris: Gauthier-Villars, 1899) Vol. 2, 49.

present a composite assemblage of the essential tectonic components as they operate, always simultaneously in the three dimensions of space and as spatial boundaries. According to Choisy, the plan was not always literally the generator of architecture, but inversely, often reflected tectonic imperatives occurring in space. Thus, the plan was a standard measure of formal changes across time. Choisy maintained this primary role by fortifying the plan, from a worm's-eye view.

The Hagia Sophia (figure 5.4) was upheld by Choisy as the pinnacle of domed Byzantine construction, exhibiting the ultimate in architectural unity via the harmonic effects of the structural "mis-en-scène."<sup>10</sup> This stance was echoed by Le Corbusier, who appropriated Choisy's drawing for the *L'Esprit Nouveau* (no. 4, January 1921) and appended the caption, "The plan is active in all the structure: its geometric laws and their modular combinations develop themselves in all the parts."<sup>11</sup> The audacious *Sainte-Sophie* embraced both the science and art of architecture; Choisy described the poetry of the structure of the central dome: it was isolated by illumination, "as suspended in space."<sup>12</sup> The axonometric projection shows a free, floating volume, detached from the ground plane. The building in space and the space of the building are

animated through the worm's-eye view isometric. The skewed plan of the axonometric projection aids in imparting an animated sense. Furthermore, the plan formally fixes the volume, expresses a clear rhythm of the parts, proportions both masses and spaces, and so transmits a coordinated sensation. The axonometric models the spatial reality of the building and engages man's synthetic perception of it. Choisy optimized the nature of axonometric space to develop representations of architecture that straddle this dynamic, modern realm. The worm's-eye view was the critical component to evince the spatio-tectonic simultaneity of architectural phenomena.

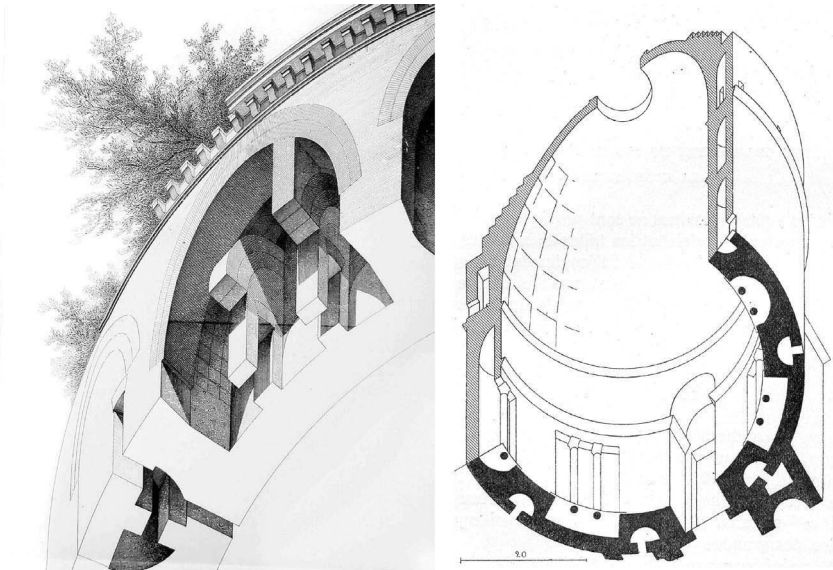
### Abstraction

*Operating between form and word, space and language, the diagram is both constitutive and projective; it is performative rather than representational.<sup>13</sup>*

Choisy uses methods of abstraction to bring a projective stance to the artifacts of the past. Each of Choisy's books implements uniformly applied rendering techniques to enforce their particular didactic intention. In the *Romains*, ruins offer themselves as specific relics and timeless models of vaulting systems, as do Choisy's delineations of them. Thus, the plates have a dual nature; on the one hand, they illustrate a discovered, extant condition in Rome, and on the other hand they distill the artifacts to their rational structure. The drawings perpetuate the former aspect through depictions that evoke a moment in time, such as shadows, overgrown vegetation, and frayed, crumbling material surfaces. Adding to that, each vault is uniquely positioned with an axis-system that best displays the nature of that particular vault. The latent rational structure of these remnants is extrapolated with precise graphic tracings. Delicate geometric lines complete the barrel vault of the Palatine Hill and articulate its semicircular geometry (figure 5, right). Sections are typically blank voids delineated by hard edge lines, but at times the fully rendered material surface wraps into the sectioned plane and a material element, a tile or brick, is distilled to its outline as a standard, material constructive unit. Repeatedly, surfaces delaminate, elements protrude, arches pause, and volumes are outlined. This intentioned reduction of matter focuses the reader on the critical parts of the assembly, but also evokes the incomplete, sited ruin. In the *Romains*, the abstracting nature of Choisy's drawings is instrumental in imparting a prospective, ideal character to the archeological artifact.

In the *Histoire*, Choisy's graphic methods are differently abstracted to emphasize general principles over time versus specific architectural conditions in time. The illustrative, individualized approach in the *Romains* becomes necessarily abstracted to posit more conceptualized principles: rendered materiality is shifted to a structural framework; temporal shadows are replaced by reasoned *poché*; and the fragment of the ruin becomes a module of the whole.





**Figure 5.5.** Up-view oblique projection of the Pantheon, Rome . Choisy, *L'art de bâtir chez les Romains* (Paris: Ducher, 1873) Plate XIII, detail (left). Worm's-eye view oblique projection of the Pantheon, Rome. Choisy, *Histoire de l'architecture* (Paris: Gauthier-Villars, 1899) Vol. 1, 529 (right).

Significantly, parallel projection itself becomes abstracted. The deliberately chosen orientation of the three-dimensional axes is supplanted by a system limited to either oblique parallel projection or isometric parallel projection.

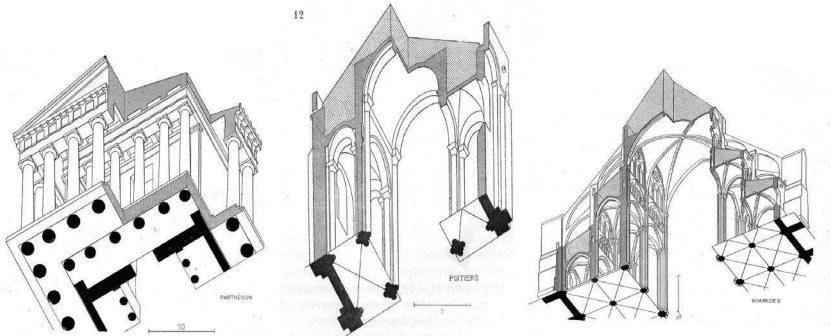
Whereas isometry is used rarely, such as the case of the Hagia Sophia, Choisy exploits oblique parallel projection repeatedly for its intrinsic standardized disposition, specifically its foundation on a geometrical plane of projection. Although an oblique parallel projection still maintains three measurable dimensions of an object, it does not precisely maintain the spatial relationships of the object as an axonometric does. The relative angles between the three dimensions are often conventionally, or subjectively, determined. Within the *Histoire*, oblique projection is most often tied to the undistorted, scaled, geometrical plan of a building. When the pure geometry of this plane is an important determinant of an architectural form, that plane maintains its essential orthogonal attribute. This is seen in the drawing of the Pantheon (figure 5.5 left), where the geometric circularity of the drum is paramount, and in the Greek and Latin cross plans of the Renaissance churches. Should the Pantheon be portrayed with an isometric projection, the drum would read as an elliptical cylinder. Choisy's plan-based oblique views are used to uphold critical geometric truths. Their synthetic quality combining both two-dimensional and three-dimensional space attributes is what makes them

particularly compelling as an abstraction device, thus contributing significantly to convey Choisy's theory of architecture graphically.

### Dissection

*As nothing can exist without the concurrence of those conditions which render its existence possible, the component parts of each must be so arranged as to render possible the whole living being, not only with regard to itself, but to its surrounding relations; and the analysis of these conditions frequently conducts to a general law . . . The most effectual mode of observing is by comparison. This consists in successively studying the same bodies in the different positions in which nature places them, or in a comparison of different bodies with each other, until invariable relations are recognized between their structure and the phenomena which they manifest.*<sup>14</sup>

One can discern that Choisy used another abstraction device, dissection, to further reveal architecture's anatomy. His sectioning is controlled and specialized relative to exposing different aspects of tectonic organization systems. Incisions are regularly performed on the same parts of successive examples of a building type in a deliberative process to not just reveal the bones of the interior, but also to classify and impart the meaningful attributes related to a particular skeleton. The oblique projections in the chapters of the *Histoire* devoted to Greek, Romanesque, and Gothic architecture read like prepared microscopic slides (figure 5.6). The depth



**Figure 5.6.** Worm's-eye view oblique projection of the Parthenon, Athens, Greece (Vol. I, Chap. XI: Greek Architecture, Temples, II. Successive aspects of the Doric temple: octastyle, fig. 11, p. 465); Worm's-eye view oblique projection of Notre-Dame, Poitiers, France (Vol. II, Chap. XV: Romanesque Architecture, Churches, III. Vaulted Naves: barrel vaulted central naves and accommodations of the system to the requirements of lighting, fig. 12, p. 204); Worm's-eye view oblique projection of Bourges Cathedral, France (Vol. II, Chap. XVI: Gothic Architecture, Churches, Naves, I. Equilibrium based on the use of flying buttresses isolated in space, fig. 8, p. 432).

is confined and defined by the module of the bay in the Romanesque and Gothic churches while the sectioning technique in Greek temples moves from the lateral to the vertical plane to reveal the evolving structure of the portico relative to its cella. Such reasoned slices reveal spatial organizations that are contingent upon their respective structural system and expose the central tectonic character of the architectural spaces unique to each culture. For Choisy, abstraction through dissection also became a method of discursive thought as a well as a means of hypothesis. The deconstruction likewise indicated construction. The scalar purification of parts, elements, modules, proportions, hierarchies, bays, and systems suggest a reverse process as well, one of building. This synthetic graphic simultaneity of building and buildings suggests another realm of modernity: montage.

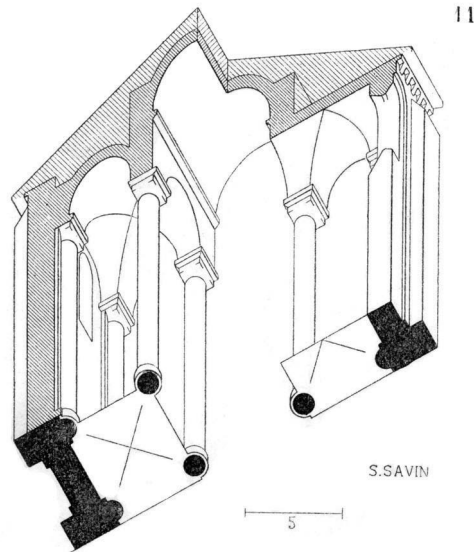
### Montage

mon·tage (mn-tāzh, mô-) *n.*<sup>15</sup>

1. *a. A single pictorial composition made by juxtaposing or superimposing many pictures or designs.*  
*b. The art or process of making such a composition.*
2. *a. A relatively rapid succession of different shots in a movie.*  
*b. The juxtaposition of such successive shots as a cinematic technique.*
3. *A composite of closely juxtaposed elements.*

Contributing to Choisy's modern point of view are two manifestations of montage, visible in individual projections and in sequences of projections. Choisy's individual worm's-eye view oblique projections particularly lend themselves to the idea of montage given their inherent juxtaposed two-dimensional and three-dimensional space attributes. As discussed earlier, Choisy's drawings create a compelling, artificial spatial simultaneity in which each individual image, working from the inside out, builds in three dimensions, montaging the "the plan, the exterior of the building, its section and its interior arrangement"—concurrent aspects of a building that could never be encountered otherwise.<sup>16</sup> The magnitude of each of Choisy's individual drawings becomes clear when Choisy's working method of montage is examined. To fabricate one drawing (figure 5.7), Choisy assembled textual research with firsthand site visits to influence one comprehensive projection drawing (figure 5.8). His finished drawing for the abbey church of Saint Savin is but one manifestation of a method repeated hundreds of times (figure 5.8). The cited textual reference, *Notice sur les peintures de l'église de Saint-Savin*, published in 1845, contained geometrical scaled drawings that were standard at the time; two sections, a plan, and an elevation were

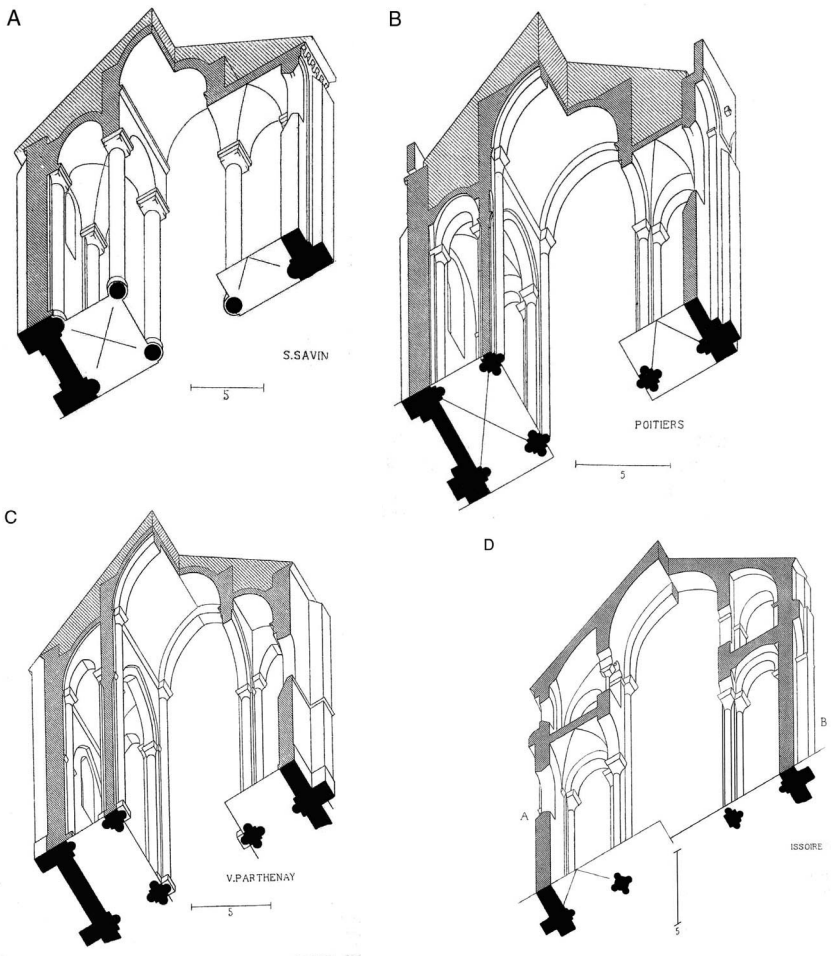




**Figure 5.8.** Worm's-eye view oblique projection of the abbey church of Saint-Savin, France. Choisy, *Histoire de l'architecture* (Paris: Gauthier-Villars, 1899) Vol. 2, 203.

Choisy similarly montages a message with linear progressions of single oblique projections. Despite appearing at irregular intervals throughout the long text, accumulated views of correspondingly rendered individual drawings are juxtaposed for the reader by the systemization of their abstraction (figure 5.9). The montage effect is similar to a rapid succession of different film shots, and the impression one gathers is less the variability and evolution of construction over time than a perception of the fundamental constructive ideas typifying an epoch.

The montages of architectural spaces, viewed individually and communally, symbolically manifest the art of building. Choisy's projected visions transcend their measured objectivity to construct imaginatively a theoretical, didactic domain. The power to abstract a theory of architecture in a graphic form is that which makes it useful. Choisy drew upon modern concepts of space, simultaneity, abstraction, dissection, and montage to convey a History of Architecture that transcended the particular. The *Histoire* established a mode of representation that projected a modern view of the necessary and artful expression of spatio-tectonic matters in all architectural form.



**Figure 5.9.** Romanesque Architecture page spreads. Choisy, *Histoire de l'architecture* (Paris: Gauthier-Villars, 1899) Vol. 2, 202–5, 208–9.

### Notes

1. Alberto Pérez-Gómez and Louise Pelletier, *Architectural Representation and the Perspective Hinge* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1997), 318. They have paraphrased Bruno Reichlin's observations about the shared purposes in the use of axonometry by Theo van Doesburg and Alberto Sartoris. See Reichlin's preface (pp. 8–25) in *Alberto Sartoris*, ed. Jacques Gubler (Lausanne: Ecole Polytechnique Federale de Lausanne, 1978), 12.

2. The space of oblique parallel projection and orthographic axonometric parallel projection are not alike. They are differentiated by the directions of their parallel projectors. Oblique projection is delineated by projectors oblique to the plane of projection, whereas axonometric projection is defined by projectors perpendicular to the plane of projection, similar to the orthographic parallel projections of plan, section, and elevation. Although both oblique and axonometric parallel projections are scaled and measureable, they are not alike as spatial representations. Oblique projection presents an aspect of two-dimensional geometric purity stemming from the fact that one plane of the object lies parallel to the picture plane. Depth is indicated in an act of oblique extrusion. Typically, the most descriptive face of an object is placed parallel to the picture plane, often a front elevation or section, or the plan.
3. Julius Weisbach, "Die monodimetrische und anisometrische Projektionsmethode (Perspective)," *Polytechnische Mittheilungen* I (1844): 125–36.
4. Martin Herrmann Meyer and Carl Theodor Meyer's serialized work *Lehrbuch der Axonometrie oder der Gesammten isometrischen, monodimetrischen, und anisometrischen Projektionslehre* appeared in 1852, 1853, and 1855. Also, *Lehrbuch der axonometrischen projektionslehre* (Leipzig: H. Haessel, 1855–1863).
5. For a detailed history of the origins of axonometry, and its predecessor isometry, see Hilary Bryon, "Revolutions in Space: parallel projections in the early modern era," *arq: Architectural Research Quarterly* 12, no. 3–4 (December 2008): 337–46.
6. The Meyers preferred axonometric method is in the realm of analytic geometry, as first posited by Weisbach, and not descriptive geometry. However, they demonstrate this method as well as axial coordinate projections. They assert that descriptive geometrical methods require excessive steps by generating the projected representation from two planes, and so first require geometrical drawings of both the plan and elevation.
7. Jules de la Gournerie, *Sommaire des leçons* (1861–2). This is a handwritten planning journal.
8. Jules de la Gournerie, *Traité de Géométrie Descriptive* (Paris: Mallet-Bachelier, 1660–64).
9. Auguste Choisy, *Histoire de l'architecture* (Paris: Gauthier-Villars, 1899) frontispice. "Note sur le mode de présentation des documents graphiques. Les documents graphiques, quelquefois simplifiés par la suppression de détails superflus sont, pour le plus grand nombre, présentés en projection axonométrique, système qui a la clarté de la perspective et se prête à des mesures immédiates. Dans ce système, une seule image mouvementée et animée comme l'édifice lui-même, tient lieu de la figuration abstraite, fractionnée par plan, coupe, et élévation. Le lecteur a sous les yeux, à la fois, le plan, l'extérieur de l'édifice, sa coupe et ses dispositions intérieures. Toutes ces figures sont accompagnées d'échelle."
10. Choisy, *Histoire de l'architecture* (volume 2), 50.
11. Le Corbusier, *L'esprit nouveau*, "Trois rappels à MM. les architectes, 3e article," no. 4, p. 459 and *Vers une architecture*, p. 36. "Le plan agit dans toute la structure: ses lois géométriques et leurs combinaisons modulaires se développent dans toutes les parties."

12. Choisy, *Histoire* (volume 2), 51.
13. Anthony Vidler, "Diagrams of Diagrams: Architectural Abstraction and Modern Representation," in *Representations*, no. 72 (Autumn 2000): 6.
14. Georges Cuvier, *The Animal Kingdom, arranged in conformity with its organization* (London: Geo. Whittaker, 1827), 5–6.
15. OED.
16. Choisy, *Histoire de l'architecture*, frontispice.
17. Eisenstein, "El Greco y el cine" (ca. 1937) in *Cinematisme: Peinture et cinema*, ed. François Albera and trans. Anne Zouboff (Brussels: Editions complexe, 1980), 16–17.





# Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

# A Found “Desert” and an Imagined “Garden”: Modernity, Landscapes, and Architecture in Southern Georgia’s Longleaf Pine Forest, 1865–1920

*Mark V. Wetherington*

In 1874, former New York Chamber of Commerce president William E. Dodge presented a new courthouse named in his honor to the citizens of Dodge County, Georgia. In accepting this civic structure at Eastman on behalf of the county’s citizens, Thomas Dawson, a local attorney and New South booster, described the forest as “desert” landscape that had been “found” by Dodge and his fellow investors in the newly formed Georgia Land and Lumber Company (GL&LC), a New York corporation controlled by timber giant Dodge, Meigs, and Company.<sup>1</sup>

Speaking before a crowd of Confederate veterans and farmers, Dawson thanked Dodge for “the civilization you have brought amongst them” in their “wild and unimproved” country and then projected a future landscape, “a garden . . . that will fill your eye and heart with pleasure for the grand and noble work undertaken by you.” Thomas Dawson’s words followed a familiar pattern that portrayed this old growth natural wonder, truly a “garden,” as a valueless desert, uninhabited and uncivilized, to be possessed and exploited (figure 6.1).<sup>2</sup>

Over the next half century such “grand and noble work” destroyed North America’s one of the unique natural landscapes—the longleaf pine ecosystem—to meet global building construction demands. This chapter examines the transformation of landscapes in the lower Ocmulgee and Oconee River region



**Figure 6.1.** Old growth longleaf pine in Laurens County with cleared land in the distance. Courtesy of the Georgia Archives, all images used with permission.

of Georgia between 1865 and 1920, an area called “The Forks.” Southern architecture and landscapes traditionally have been understudied compared to other regions, and early studies concentrated on the colonial and antebellum periods and were influenced by mythmaking and romanticism. Among southern subregions, the coastal plains longleaf forest has received even less attention, situated as it was beyond the bounds of plantation and mansion nostalgia. While the twentieth-century historic preservation movement made strides in landmark-laden coastal cities such as Charleston, New Orleans, and Savannah, it made little headway in the former longleaf forest, which sustained successive and destructive waves of deforestation and commercial agriculture, and region-wide demolition by neglect.<sup>3</sup>

### **The Longleaf Landscape**

The longleaf’s range covered nearly 150,000 square miles from southeastern Virginia to eastern Texas, an estimated 90 million acres situated mainly on the coastal plains. In southern Georgia, longleaf stretched inland from the Tidewater to the Chattahoochee River and covered about 17,000 square miles. This ecosystem depended upon frequent low-intensity fires, both natural and manmade, that killed competing vegetation and cleared the forest floor of litter that kept seedlings from putting down taproots. Thus, fire shaped the

architecture of the forest. Numbering from fifty to seventy-five trees per acre, longleaf reached over 100 feet in height and as much as three feet in diameter. The pine canopy shaded out most of the understory, except for shade tolerant wiregrass. Growing in outward bending clumps, it reached a height of about one foot and provided year-round grazing for livestock and gave the forest floor its open and park-like appearance.<sup>4</sup>

In its natural state, some travelers likened the woods to God's temples, where a cumulative sensory experience was created by light, color, and sound. Light filtered through the canopy and bathed the upright pine trunks, which reminded some of the interior columns of cathedrals, where rose windows reflected slanting light to the floor. Each upland pine grove, separated from the next by hardwood bottoms, created a repetitive experience some found hypnotic or boring. Traveling up the Altamaha River in 1770s, William Bartram described the sights and sounds of the forest and noted Indian old fields and meadows, the result of natural and manmade fires. Standing in an "ancient Indian field," he remarked on the "succulent grass" and "fragrant shrubs," a landscape "perfumed by clouds of incense." The field was "nearly encircled with a forest of stately pines (*Pinus Palustris*) through which appeared the extensive savanna." Finally, there was also the "sighing" of the pines as breezes moved through the canopy. Bartram used the word "meditating" when he wrote about the "marvelous scenes of primitive nature, as yet unmodified by the hands of man." In 1887, one writer looked back longingly on the "great forests of stately pines, rearing their green boughs far up towards the misty blue, sang their weird hymns to the admiring traveler."<sup>5</sup>

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, railroad construction, the lumber and naval stores industries, new town growth, and the expansion of cotton production destroyed the precolonial landscape. One historian of the forest wrote: "By any measure, longleaf's decline of nearly 98 percent is among the most severe of any ecosystem on earth. It dwarfs the Amazon rain forest's losses of somewhere between 13 and 25 percent. It is comparable to or exceeds the decline in the North American tall grass prairie, the coastal forests of southeastern Brazil, and . . . surpasses the losses of the old-growth Douglas fir forests of the Pacific Northwest."<sup>6</sup>

Today, the story of the longleaf landscape is largely forgotten in the public imagination. There was, however, a missed teaching moment at the dawn of the modern environmental movement. In 1965, Eugenia Price, a self-described historical novelist, published her first romance *The Beloved Invader*, which opens with the arrival of Anson Dodge Jr. on St. Simons Island in December 1879. There the GL&LC had constructed a large sawmill and company town on Gascogne Bluff to mill and ship longleaf pine lumber to world markets. An inspirational speaker and Christian radio show cohost, Price was well known in the broadcasting world and traveled the nation. Indeed, her discovery of the St. Simons, Christ Church, and the graves of Reverend Anson Green Phelps

Dodge Jr. and his two wives, central characters in the novel, came in 1961 after reading the Southeastern edition of the American Automotive Association's guidebook's thumbnail version of Reverend Dodge's story.<sup>7</sup>

The post-Civil War industrial expansion of the United States had profound consequences for the South's longleaf pine forest. During the late 1860s northern lumber companies such as the Dodge Company looked south to replace the depleted forests of white pine in Michigan, Pennsylvania, and Canada. The destruction of the longleaf pine forest followed the northern cutover, but was prior to the better-known exploitation of the great fir forests of the American Northwest. The longleaf story was lost in the middle. The role of companies such as the Dodge Company in destroying the coastal plains' natural landscape has received less attention than similar economic transformations in Appalachia, for example, which has retained its distinct regional identity, due in large part to its mountainous landscape, and has established its own field of scholarship. The identity of the longleaf forest as a unique American place has faded with the virtual disappearance of its forest ecosystem and its late-nineteenth-century consolidation with a more robust and expanding post-Civil War cotton South.

### **Dodge Company and the Landscape of Capitalism**

To consider the fate of this magnificent landscape forces us to confront the sheer destructive capacity of unrestrained *laissez faire* capitalism. When modern corporate America emerged triumphant from the Civil War with the power of the modern state behind it, the outcome was predictable. A unique ecosystem was destroyed. The economic and social upheaval that followed in the interior of southern Georgia persisted into the twentieth century and beyond where persisting poverty rates in some counties are similar to those found in Appalachia. Indeed, it is important to remember that all of the actors in this narrative were members of modern American society shaped by capitalism, corporations, industrialization, rapid transportation, and the nation-state. This is worth mentioning because the Dodge Company and its agents, and they were certainly not unique in this regard, viewed their arrival in the forest as a boundary in time between their new progressive industrial outlook and the local world that went before the pre-Dodge Company era, one characterized by small farmers and their folk culture of nature, simplicity, superstition, and tradition. The major barriers to a new progressive order, according to the Dodge Company, were the small farmers and stockmen of the piney woods.<sup>8</sup>

Anson Dodge Sr. quickly became the major local spokesman for the company. "The real interests of the citizens and this company are one and inseparable," he wrote in 1876 as the company weathered the public outcry over its engrossment of 300,000 acres of their landscape. He continued: "We cannot double the value of our property without doubling the value of the property

that adjoins us." He reasoned that "intelligent" men understood the "need of improvement" but cautioned: "Narrow-minded who oppose railroads and would advocate old-fashioned modes of travel, and who would like to see one of the best parts of Georgia neglected, and remain for fifty years just as it was in their fathers' time, can afford to try and stop all advancement and progress." Dodge described his own personal "policy" and "those he represented" as a "progressive." He "desired to see the place move on with a pace commensurate with the spirit of the age."<sup>9</sup>

What the Dodge Company either failed to understand or chose to ignore was the extent to which yeomen farmers and livestock herders were themselves dependent on the forest as woodland and grazing range to meet the demands of modern world markets for timber and wool. Local producers objected to railroad construction and unrestricted timber depletion not because they were narrow minded men or wanted to "stop all advancement and progress," but because railways increased land speculation, timber depletion, and commercial agriculture, started grass fires and killed livestock, and destroyed the grazing range.

To the extent that local farmers harvested timber and floated it to Darien in the winter, they competed directly with the Dodge Company. Cutting, squaring, and rafting timber to market was as old as the counties themselves. Bartram noted in the 1770s that farmers used slave labor to cut "massive timber logs" to raft to the coast for West Indian markets. In 1839, *The McIntosh Herald* (Darien) reported that there were two million feet of timber on hand at both Darien and Lumber City "and of a quality that has never been surpassed." Farmers-turned timber cutters were dependent on riparian stands for logs that could be floated on streams and rivers to market and were protective of this source of income. In 1853, for example, 131 timber cutters from 7 Forks counties met in convention at Lumber City. They complained that timber buyers at Darien were price fixing to drive down prices and that timber inspectors were "not entitled to public confidence" because they were in collusion with buyers. The timber cutters resolved to boycott Darien's market "in self-defense" until the laws regulating timber inspection and trade were enforced.<sup>10</sup>

The arrival of the Dodge Company changed the antebellum landscape entirely. By late 1879, the company had been preparing for their assault on the longleaf pine forest for almost a decade. Moreover, the market for lumber was recovering from the Panic of 1873. Their 300,000 acres were scattered across five counties (Dodge, Laurens, Montgomery, Pulaski, and Telfair) bounded by the lower Ocmulgee and Oconee Rivers, which joined to form the Altamaha River at the forks. The Altamaha would soon be filled with timber rafts bound for Dodge-controlled coastal sawmills at St. Simons and Darien (figure 6.2).

The mills belonged to a multinational corporation called Dodge, Meigs, & Co. with offices in New York City, although their longleaf interest operated under the name of the Georgia Land and Lumber Company. Anson Sr.'s father,



**Figure 6.2.** Oconee River raft and timber men. Courtesy of the Georgia Archives.

William E. Dodge, and Anson Sr.'s brothers, among others, including Titus B. Meigs, were involved in the firm's lumber business in the United States and Canada. But Anson Sr. was responsible for getting the firm mixed up in Georgia longleaf pine land speculation. He paid out his life savings for 300,000 acres of longleaf pine in southern Georgia, but this land was of questionable title and would be contested in court. As Anson Sr. wrote in 1875: "Against my father's advice, who would have nothing to do with the purchase, I made the investment in good faith, and paid out the results of my whole business life in hard dollars." Anson Sr.'s inability to control himself where timber speculation was concerned left him "dreadfully overloaded, myself, with this and other purchases of real estate, I was in danger of being ruined, becoming bankrupt." Anson Sr.'s father bailed him out of this "awful scrape" by buying the Georgia pineland from his son.<sup>11</sup>

In order to establish an efficient process for feeding the coastal mills, and the St. Simons mill was constructed to consume twenty million board feet of timber per year at peak capacity, an interior "Woods Division" was established to manage the cutting and shipping. Anson Dodge, Sr. was initially in charge of this backwoods operation. In time the Dodge Company established several temporary sawmill and turpentine camps, a company town called Normandale, and helped shape the county seat town of Eastman, where the company initially maintained its local headquarters.<sup>12</sup>

The plan to attack the longleaf landscape was similar to the ones used to cutover forests in New York, Pennsylvania, and Canada: gain access to the forest by rivers and railroads, establish temporary and mobile sawmill camps to process the pine for shipment, cut out the surrounding area, and move the

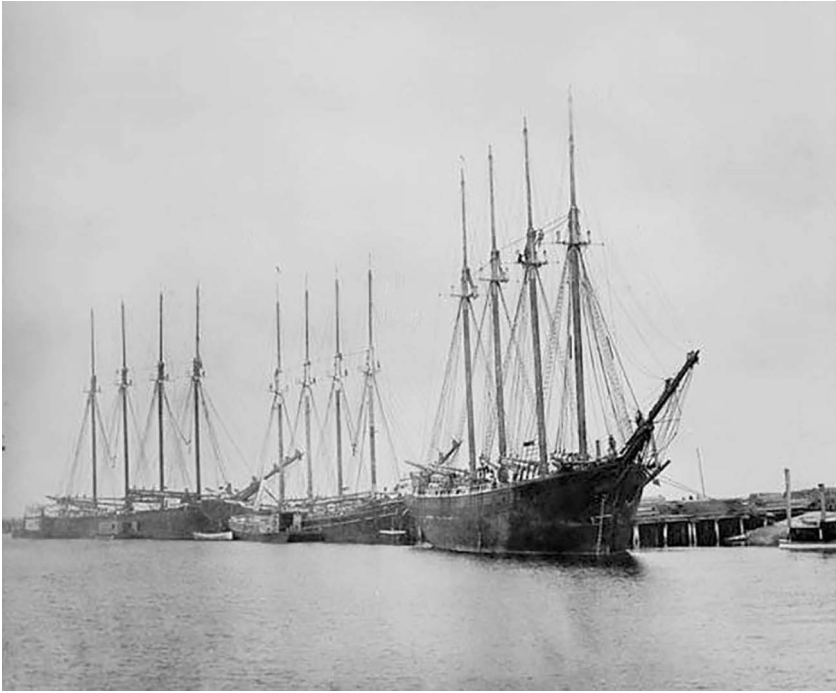
sawmill camp to the next old growth area. In 1879, the company brought in forty-three Pennsylvania timber cutters to labor at "A.G.P. Dodge's works in Telfair County." They were described as "strong, stalwart men" who "were experienced at the business, and the venture has proven eminently satisfactory."<sup>13</sup>

Indeed, the Dodge Company began its major assault on the longleaf forest in Telfair County with this "venture" into the Horse Creek, Turnpike Creek, Sugar Creek, and Gum Swamp watersheds. The creeks were used by yeomen farmers to float small rafts of timber to the Ocmulgee River and down the Altamaha to Darien, but all that changed when the Dodge Company began cutting longleaf on an industrial scale in the 1870s. They started with the establishment of a sawmill camp at the junction of Horse Creek and the Ocmulgee River in 1878 near a place called Powell's landing, soon renamed Dodge's landing. Experienced timber men from the company's Pennsylvania mills were brought to Georgia to set up the camp. William Pitt Eastman, a land speculator who sold the pine lands to the Dodges, stated in 1873: "The plan is to strip off the timber from ten to twenty thousand acres per year."<sup>14</sup>

In order to reach the remote old-growth stands, the company constructed a tram railway northward up the watershed toward the Macon and Brunswick Railroad, about 20 miles away and approximately 150 feet higher in elevation. Two schooner loads of railroad iron were unloaded at Brunswick and shipped upriver to the Telfair County mill. By February 1878, the Ocmulgee and Horse Creek Railroad, as the tram was called, had put down seven miles of track, and the company had set up "several mills along this line." In time this operation would cut over both the riparian and upland forests along the watershed, constantly extending the railroad and moving its sawmills and camps along the line. This process was new on the local landscape. As one local observer wrote: "Timber will now move rapidly forward, and such too, as cannot be excelled in the markets of the world."<sup>15</sup>

The sawmill could cut 20,000 feet of lumber per day. Smaller pines were cut into boards and moved to the river landing on the railroad and then rafted down the Ocmulgee and Altamaha Rivers to St. Simons, where it was "shipped to Northern and foreign markets." Larger trees followed the same route down the railroad and rivers but were not sawed into lumber after they reached the company's large coastal mill, where they were loaded onto timber schooners (figure 6.3).<sup>16</sup> While timber company officials used words such as "wild" and "unimproved" to describe the piney woods, these lands had already been claimed and occupied by white yeoman farmers and livestock herders since the early 1800s. Their small-scale farms were widely scattered through the forest and loosely clustered around rural neighborhoods such as Lee's court ground in newly created Dodge County, situated about thirty miles up the watershed from Dodge's Telfair County mill. This was a backwoods community of small farmers who often worked less than fifty acres of land with family labor rather than those of slaves, and ran herds of cows, hogs, and





**Figure 6.3.** Timber schooners at Brunswick, Georgia. Courtesy of the Georgia Archives.

sheep over the vast open wiregrass range. The rural neighborhood really had no center, except for its militia mustering ground. Two log churches, one at the northern and the other at the southern end, marked its boundaries, and a store, single and double pen pine log cabins and out buildings, rail fences, and patches of corn and cotton shaped its appearance.<sup>17</sup>

### **The Courthouse and the Dodge Company Railroad Towns**

Lee's court ground became the site of Eastman. Such antebellum places were disappearing wherever postwar railroads and sawmills and turpentine stills appeared (figure 6.4). One traveler remarked in the 1870s that old double pen cabins of "rude construction," the "relics of the past," were falling away. "The progress of the age is very fast obliterating many old landmarks of the past . . . They have evidently served their day." Few of Eastman's early visitors realized that "modern" Eastman was built upon a pre-Civil War community, a rural neighborhood with its own economy, landscape, and architecture.<sup>18</sup>

The presence of Eastman, Georgia, and the courthouse that Mr. Dodge gave to the county that bore his name, owed their existence to a technology rarely seen within the forest's interior before 1870—steam engines. Steam engines



**Figure 6.4.** Temporary turpentine distillery. Both sawmills and turpentine stills lined south Georgia's railroads. Courtesy of the Georgia Archives.

not only powered locomotives, but sawmills, shingle mills, corn mills, and, in time, cotton gins and compresses, electric and ice plants. Steam power revolutionized the forest and forever changed its landscape.

Writing from Eastman in the summer of 1872, a contributor to the *Savannah Morning News* declared: “This place presents more the appearance of a New England village than any place that has come within my observation. The buildings are not large but neat, commodious and generally prettily painted.” This description of Eastman stood in sharp contrast to the appearance of other towns on the same railroad passed on the way to Eastman. These were merely “abortions of towns.” At Eastman, however, “one is prepared to appreciate the fresh, lively appearance of this place.” What gave Eastman a New England appearance, and what about the “abortions of towns” created at approximately the same time along the same railroad offended his esthetic sensibilities?<sup>19</sup>

Eastman was different in its appearance largely by design and not by accident. William Pitt Eastman and William E. Dodge of New York envisioned the town as a resort for northern health tourists, especially after the Panic of 1873 depressed the lumber market. The town also became the Dodge Company's corporate headquarters in the interior of Georgia. Anson Dodge Sr. was “the life of the place. His time is occupied during the week with the business of the Georgia Land and Lumber Company.” Creating a village in the pines that resembled northern Adirondack and White Mountain resorts appealed to the northern traveling public and improved the local economy until the timber market recovered.<sup>20</sup>

Postwar travelers repeatedly mentioned the health benefits that could be gained from a sojourn in the longleaf woodlands. Writing in 1872, one visitor noted: "There is a strong tendency among invalids coming South for relief in pulmonary diseases, to quit the old beaten route along the seaboard and in Florida, and seek rather the high, dry pine lands where there is less humidity about the atmosphere." Another observed that there was "no climate more healthy on the continent, being entirely freed from marsh effluvia." The *Eastman Times* wrote in 1873: "The location is beautiful and is surrounded for miles by dense, tall, yellow pines; the water is abundant, pure and sweet, and no climate more healthy on the continent, being entirely free from marsh effluvia." During the 1870s two hotels as well as private homes rented rooms to recovering invalids.<sup>21</sup>

Eastman and Dodge brought northern ideas of what made a proper resort town—plans, civic buildings, and even architects. Eastman's courthouse led the list of building projects. It was Dodge's gift to the county, its first civic building. William Eastman, who took up residence in the town and supervised its development, selected architect Isaac H. Russell to design the courthouse and his own residence. The latter, completed in 1872, was described as a "cozy rich, private residence costing over ten thousand dollars" and "a home embracing every comfort and luxury." William Eastman soon planted Japanese wax trees on a courthouse lawn surrounded by pine stumps.<sup>22</sup>

In 1873, Norman W. Dodge, William Eastman, and architect Isaac H. Russell, among others, formed a partnership and received a charter for the Eastman Hotel Company. In time the partners built the Uplands Hotel, purchased in 1880 by William E. Dodge, its largest stockholder. As the "upland" name implied, the curative powers of the longleaf pine forest were judged healthier than the tidewater or lowland destinations previously preferred by northerners. Immediately after the war, travel writers extolled the piney wood's dry and healthy landscape and its resinous properties as cures for respiratory ailments. The general idea was to hire the most popular Adirondack and White Mountain hotel managers and have their "admirers," who visited them up north "by the thousands in the summer," follow them to their house among the Pines in the winter.<sup>23</sup>

The construction of professionally designed and "prettily" painted buildings—courthouse, hotel, and residences--set Eastman apart and gave it a "New England village appearance." In 1880, a visitor to Eastman wrote the town remained "the prettiest village on the line of the Macon and Brunswick Railroad. The residences are nearly all of modern architecture, and tastefully planned, partaking more or less the style of the Upland Hotel building." Eastman would predate the later and more popular piney woods resort of Thomasville, Georgia, by more than a decade. But with the recovery of the timber trade in 1880, Eastman's days as a health resort were numbered.<sup>24</sup>

After all, Eastman and the other railroad towns were new places, and all owed their existence to the railroad. They began as numbered depots situated about ten miles apart. In their earliest stages, these towns were what a newspaperman called Tifton, Georgia, in its infancy: "merely a saw-mill camp." Disorderly and noisy wooden boom towns, their slab mills, turpentine stills, and shanty houses were banged together as quickly as possible without consideration of town layout or architectural style because they were temporary "camps." The former health resort of Eastman would soon take on all of the industrial trappings of a sawmill and naval stores town as deforestation destroyed the basis for health tourism.<sup>25</sup>

By the mid-1880s the Dodge Company had cut over most of its timber in the southern part of Telfair County's watersheds, and turned its attention north along the line separating Dodge and Telfair counties. It established Camp 6 (sawmill camps were numbered) approximately half way between Chauncey on the East Tennessee Virginia & Georgia (formerly the M&B) Railroad and the company's new timber boom on the Ocmulgee River. These three points were linked by a new standard gauge railroad called the Ocmulgee and Normandale Railroad (O&N) that ran for about twenty-five miles in a more or less northerly direction to the company town of Normandale.<sup>26</sup>

Normandale was the Dodge Company's largest interior building project. Construction began in the mid-1880s, when several developments removed the last barriers to unrestrained forest exploitation. First, in US District Court the Dodge Company's claim to over 300,000 acres was upheld in *George E. Dodge v. Briggs, Hall, and Sleeper*; the balance of power clearly shifted to the corporation and away from the local population. Norman W. Dodge took over ownership of the company from brother George, and renamed it the Normandale Lumber Company. Norman also became president of the St. Simons Lumber Company, which had previously operated under the Dodge, Meigs & Co. name. And second, the Savannah, Americus, and Montgomery Railroad (SA&M) reached Abbeville and soon crossed the O&N near Camp 6. Although this railroad was not owned by the Dodge Company, its construction threw open 1,000s of acres of longleaf pine whose ownership was still contested by local residents, despite the federal court's ruling and injunctions barring them for cutting timber.<sup>27</sup>

By the spring of 1886, Normandale boasted two railroads, two turpentine stills, a cotton gin house, a warehouse, and several dwellings for workers and management. The company town went up so quickly that one man said: "The change in the place reminds me of the western hunter, who says he went to sleep in a forest one evening and was awakened the next morning by two workmen, and found himself in a busy town." During the late 1880s, after Anson Dodge Sr. was replaced by Norman Dodge, Normandale became "headquarters of the company's immense lumber and naval stores industries, the necessary buildings for offices, depots, commissaries, and residences for

superintendents, sub-bosses, and laborers will alone make of it quite a village." The company town reflected the stratification of the rural industrial architectural landscape just as slavery had demanded separate quarters for slaves. The sawmill, "regarded as one of the most complete mills in Georgia," could cut 100,000 feet of lumber per day. In sum, the corporation's previous interior operations and offices were scattered between Eastman and various sawmill camps, but were now consolidated in one place. And the town's railroad links to the countryside soon included tram roads into the Gum Swamp watershed. "Can you not hear in the music of the air the song of golden returns?" one visitor wrote. That "music" was a cause for alarm among local residents, many of them dependent in part upon the forest and the open range for their livelihoods.<sup>28</sup>

These residents included families of long residence and high standing. Chief among them was the Lancaster family, whose settlement was situated near the SA&M Railroad, which was completed through the neighborhood in 1889. Wright Lancaster, a former sheriff of Telfair County, was also involved in timberland speculation and operated a sawmill. He claimed some 20 lots (202.5 acres each) of the same land the Dodge Company intended to cut, and boasted that "he could control a great deal more." But local families also included newcomers who wanted to cash in on timberland speculation, people the Dodge Company called "squatters," who had very dubious deeds, some of them forged. Andrew Jackson Renew was one of these men. He had married into a local family near the Lancaster settlement and was a small farmer and well-known deed forger. As the Dodge Company pushed to finish up its timber cutting operations in 1889–1890, more and more lots claimed by both Norman W. Dodge and Wright Lancaster and his neighbors came into play.<sup>29</sup>

Eugenia Price may have seen the grave of John Forsyth at Christ Church on St. Simons Island, the same graveyard that held the graves of Anson Dodge Jr. and his wives. If she did, it went without mention in her novel. Forsyth was the Dodge Company's leading agent at Normandale. He and other company officials were anything but "beloved" invaders and became objects of public animosity. Local residents called them land pirates and thieves and charged the company was "cutting and ruining the country." The Dodge Company had enjoined many of their families from cutting trees on land claimed by the firm and had initiated legal action against hundreds of people. Some of them charged the company was a monopoly that was "cutting all the timber to keep other people from getting it." It had to be stopped.<sup>30</sup>

In October 1890, John Forsyth was murdered at his home at Normandale. Suspicion immediately fell upon the Lancasters and their neighbors. In time over forty people would be killed in what locals called the land wars. Forsyth was not the first, but his death made national headlines. So did the twenty-six-day federal trial at Macon of the men convicted of "conspiring against the civil rights" of Norman W. Dodge. Wright Lancaster and several others were sent

to federal penitentiary in Columbus, Ohio. Ultimately, the US federal court, in a series of rulings, determined the Dodge Company would cut most of the longleaf pine forest in the Forks region. "What a change has been wrought," a traveler to the Forks wrote in 1887 three years before Forsyth's murder. "Five years ago this was one of the most finely timbered sections of Georgia . . . but today these same forests are a vast and desolate waste. The woodsman's axe has been laid to their roots. They have been cut and chipped and hacked and dipped for five years, and today only the dead, falling, and wasting trees remain almost worthless."<sup>31</sup>

### Cotton and the Dawn of Consumer Age

By the early 1890s, several clear patterns had altered the landscape. Deforestation had fragmented the forest and undermined one of the pillars of prewar yeoman farmer self-sufficiency—the open range. Moreover, cotton growing became more and more popular among both old residents and new migrants as income from the open range diminished due to overgrazing on diminishing grasslands. These changes in the landscape did not move evenly from one stage (forest and grazing range) to the next (cotton production), but varied temporally and spatially. Yeomen farmers had long grown small patches of cotton for home consumption, but deforestation and railroad construction immediately resulted in increased dependency on this cash crop, especially near the railroads that brought in commercial fertilizer and carried away the crop. In 1878, one visitor wrote: "The cotton is being rapidly gathered along the line of the Macon and Brunswick Railroad, and is being sent forward to market with all dispatch."<sup>32</sup>

Extremely harsh winters during the 1880s, a national as well as local problem, further undermined the open range. In Dodge County alone, the amount of improved land increased from approximately 27,000 acres in 1880 to about 81,000 acres in 1900. This trend was a major setback for cattle and sheep men, who were convinced that herding could not be "carried on in connection with cotton planting." They were correct. The ratio of sheep to people declined from three sheep for every one person in 1860, to one sheep for every ten people by 1910. By the early 1880s, the area around Chauncey, which had been a beef and mutton supplier for Macon, was importing meat by the carload from Macon. By the 1890s, one resident wrote: "In winter our beef comes from the West (cold storage)."<sup>33</sup>

What eventually overwhelmed the "New England" appearance of Eastman? Ironically, the answer was cotton, whose furnishing merchants and agribusiness districts reshaped the Forks communities. Considered "barren" country for agricultural purposes prior to the Civil War, piney woods Georgia was bypassed by cotton planters, who moved on to more fertile lands on the piedmont. But railroad construction and deforestation allowed cotton to expand into areas where it had hardly been grown on a commercial scale. Deforestation

and cotton growing were directly related and had enormous implications for the biodiversity of the forest. By the early 1890s, cotton production in the study area had more than doubled, from 16,000 bales in 1860 to almost 38,000 bales in 1890. The rapid expansion of cotton production could not have taken place without the introduction of commercial fertilizer, which was hauled into the region on railroads. By 1880, less than 35 percent of all cotton acreage was fertilized by home compost, most growers turning to commercial brands that made the sandy soil “produce cotton abundantly.”<sup>34</sup>

Cotton’s ascendancy reordered south Georgia’s rural landscape (figure 6.5). The availability of cheap cutover timberland attracted thousands of farmers from the Piedmont’s worn out cotton lands. It did not matter that, as one migrant farmer wrote, his new house was “so small we can scarcely turn around in it.” Country roads were soon lined with these frame tenant houses. What mattered was the opportunity to start over again in a new community. The Forks population doubled between 1870 and 1890, and then doubled again, to 111,000, by 1910. As the migration grew, the number of local farms and tenant plots increased from about 5,000 to 15,000, while the size of the farm dropped, in Dodge County, for example, from 228 acres to only 92 acres. Because the postwar South was cash poor, almost all of these farms were bought or worked



**Figure 6.5.** Laurens County cotton field with receding longleaf forest on the horizon. Courtesy of the Georgia Archives.

on credit, or worked on shares. And since the only crop that mattered in the local exchange network was now cotton, more and more farmers reduced their acreage in food crops in favor of cotton, and in the process fell deeper into debt with the town merchants who furnished them food and supplies on credit. Success proved elusive.<sup>35</sup>

Large cotton growing operations using sharecroppers and tenant farmers—both black and white—produced far more cotton on “pine barren” land than anyone had imagined. Writing from Milan in 1911, thirteen-year-old Lester Rousey told how his family moved from Elberton, Georgia, and like so many new comers quickly became bound to cotton growing. “My brother, who is fifteen years old, and I have planted 55 to 60 acres in cotton, and we do all of the plowing.” Country crossroads, villages, and towns boasted new system cotton gins, imported on railroad cars from places like Arkansas, where the Sailor Cotton Elevator, for example, “makes ginning easier and more rapid. Does all the handling of seed cotton. Eliminates dust, thereby insuring the health of ginner.” The sound of cotton gins hummed along late into the night and the forest continued to recede as cotton growing increased (figure 6.6).<sup>36</sup>

The cotton outcome was grim for farmers. As southern novelist Harry Crews wrote of his boyhood home in Bacon County, Georgia, his sharecropping parents had “no cows or hogs and no smokehouse, and that first year they lived—as we did for much of my childhood—on fatback, grits . . . and biscuits



**Figure 6.6.** Cotton wagon and storefront with cast iron components, Dublin, Georgia. Courtesy of the Georgia Archives.



made from flour and water and lard.” Thousands of farm families were in the same boat, as more and more of them they moved from self-sufficiency to tenancy. In Montgomery County, for example, 95 percent of all farms were worked by owners in 1880. Thirty years later, following the removal of thousands of acres of pine trees and the arrival of cotton farmers, only 44 percent of all farms were worked by owners. According to the editor of one Dublin newspaper, the landscape that emerged was without a middle class, with “dependent, ignorant tenantry,” on one hand, and “dominating, overbearing landlordism,” on the other.<sup>37</sup> The vital exchange of cotton for a life on credit took place in the rapidly multiplying cotton market villages and towns. There was little need for these places in a forested world where most families grew or made what they consumed.

The arrival of railroads and cotton ushered in a world of mass consumption. The appearance of railroad market towns was described as “magic.” A visitor to Eastman in 1877 remarked after an absence of eighteen months: “it looks now as if some Alladin had been here with his lamp, and transformed things.” By the 1890s, a plan of sorts had been worked out for the layout of booming new railroad towns. Small commercial storefronts reflected the architectural styles preferred by a younger business elite and were frequently borrowed from outside the region. Buildings fronted streets that paralleled railroad tracks and storefronts were oriented toward the source of the goods they sold—the railroad. Goods were sold from new brick buildings with new design elements, including flat skylines, large front windows, and occasional skylights. In 1878, the Hawkinsville firm of Bozeman & McGriff were “putting up an elegant brick building two stories high, the lower to be used as stores, and the upper for a hotel, and when finished will be an ornament to the town.” As historian Daniel Boorstin noted a half century ago, the late nineteenth century was the age of “consumer’s palaces,” with massive department stores such as New York’s Stewart’s Cast Iron Palace (1862). Even smaller buildings seemed like palaces to farming families. Cast iron, less expensive than masonry, often supported decorative brick facades with sinkages and arched doorways and window. These design elements made it easier for rural railroad town merchants to make their stores appear more impressive from the outside. And the use of a few pieces of cast iron made it possible to enclose large plate glass “show windows” that allowed mass produced goods to advertise and sell themselves to country people.<sup>38</sup>

During the late 1880s and early 1900s, mass manufactured architectural components were ordered through catalogs and shipped by rail from manufacturers in the North, urban South, and Midwest from dealers such as George L. Meskers’ company in Evansville, Indiana. These building parts included cast iron and large sheet glass components mentioned earlier, but also included flat corrugated steel roofs and siding ordered from a wide variety of suppliers (figure 6.7). Sears offered “Rock Face” steel siding, which came with red and

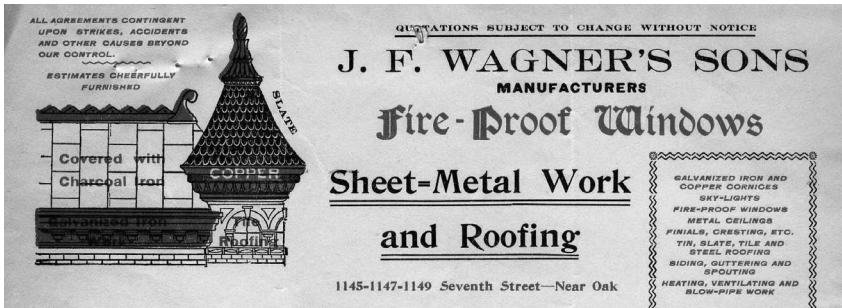


Figure 6.7. Letterhead featuring metal architectural components. Courtesy of the Filson Historical Society.

galvanized finishes, and made “an elegant facing for store fronts . . . and is easily applied.” The use of metal continued indoors with pressed metal tin ceilings and gave the impression the buildings were strong and fireproof. As late as 1920s, Sears Roebuck and Co. offered a wide variety of pressed metal ceilings, cheap imitations of plaster ceilings. Painted white, the “French Renaissance Design” offered by Sears gave the impression of classic elegance overhead. “Send us a rough drawing of your ceiling . . . and our ceiling metal experts will furnish you with an estimate showing to the penny what this ceiling will cost you.” Some local businessmen such as A. W. Smith of Milan manufactured artificial building blocks used in livery stables and warehouses, even as he imported brick from the Chattahoochee River valley. Who would have guessed that Major Dawson’s projected future “garden” would feature buildings with virtually no wood visible inside or outside?<sup>39</sup>

The cotton culture that arrived on the heels of deforestation transformed the appearance of the rural and urban landscape. When a visitor arrived at Eastman in 1911, he noticed two large fertilizer “factories,” a cotton oil mill, and a cotton compress, adding: “There is hardly a city of its size in Georgia that receives as many bales of cotton each year.” There was no mention of hotels or health tourism. The forest was gone. But cotton’s days were limited, too. A traveler to the Southern Georgia Exposition, held at Eastman each year, observed in 1920 that “the one crop movement . . . is practically a thing of the past.” The boll weevil’s “activities in this locality” were “disastrous this year.” Farmers planned to diversify their crops and raise more livestock, especially hogs. In the exhibition halls, visitors noticed that cotton “has a very small place indeed in the displays.”<sup>40</sup>

The history of the landscape and architecture of the longleaf forest as a southern region remains to be told. In the Forks region of southern Georgia, it is largely a story of sweeping the natural landscape clean of pine trees and vernacular buildings and often people themselves, and importing other regions’ architecture, crop cultures, and peoples to create new landscapes

increasingly integrated into national patterns. The Fork's New South large industrial buildings followed designs worked out in northern and Canadian forests, and the turpentine stills and naval stores camps arrived from North Carolina, as did the distinctive log "flue-cured" tobacco barns from Virginia and the Carolinas, which appeared after the arrival of the boll weevil. Sharecropper and tenant shacks were throwbacks to antebellum slave quarters and lined the region's dirt roads wherever cotton took hold. Cotton mills arrived from the Piedmont and replicated the factory and mill town designs of the Piedmont.<sup>41</sup>

This history was not inevitable. Managed forests could have kept the longleaf ecosystem a part of our landscape for generations. One writer to the *Eastman Times* argued as much in 1884 when he wrote that it was time for "the southern states to take some steps for the preservation of their forests. In a few years, it will be too late. It may be urged that the state has no right to interfere with private property. But have individuals the right to use their property as to bring ruin on those in their vicinity?" A proactive state government and better managed forests, as this writer proposed, could have made possible a continued health tourism industry and its associated leisurely pursuits, including hunting.<sup>42</sup>

Ironically, five years after this letter appeared, Ferris Meigs, son of Titus B. Meigs (the partner of William E. Dodge), graduated from the first professional forestry school in the United States at Yale University. He went to work for his family's lumber company in the Adirondack Mountains of New York. His philosophy was for each tree cut, another planted. Ferris Meigs stayed with the Santa Clara Lumber Company and carried out his plan until 1941, when the company closed.<sup>43</sup> Unfortunately, this philosophy was not followed by the Dodge Company.

Accepting the Dodge County courthouse as a gift from William E. Dodge in 1874, Thomas Dawson projected a future "garden." But the work of the lumber, naval stores, and railroad men and the cotton growers destroyed the natural longleaf garden that naturalists from William Bartram to John Muir admired. To look backward from the 1920s, the most conspicuous plant in that imagined garden was cotton, which sapped the soil and the energy of the coastal plains and perpetuated agricultural tenancy, with its lines of roadside tenant houses and rusting cotton gins persisting into recent memory. Without its own Thomas Cole to visually capture the changing identity of its early settlement, or a Winslow Homer, whose paintings of the denuded Adirondack Mountains recorded the devastation of the lumbermen, the longleaf forest as a unique place receded from public memory with each passing decade.<sup>44</sup>

During the summer of 1932, one of the largest longleaf pines ever "felled" in the Forks was cut down in Gum Swamp. It was estimated to be about 175 years old and 16 feet in circumference when measured an 4 feet above ground. Owing to its swampy location and "gigantic size," this survivor of sixty years of large-scale deforestation had been bypassed by loggers. With its estimated

5,000 board feet in its 70-foot-long trunk, the longleaf would make, according to the *Eastman Times Journal*, “enough lumber for a fair sized modern house.”<sup>45</sup>

### Notes

1. Mark V. Wetherington, *Plain Folk's Fight: The Civil War and Reconstruction in Piney Woods Georgia* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 296–97. Present-day counties included in this study area are Dodge, Bleckley, Laurens, Montgomery, Pulaski, Telfair, and Wheeler.
2. Ibid.; *EastmanTimes*, 9 Apr. 1874.
3. Kate Holliday, “Historiography of Southern Architecture,” in *The New Encyclopedia of Southern Culture*, ed. Charles Reagan Wilson (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2013), v. 21, 107–11.
4. Lawrence S. Earley, *Looking for Longleaf: The Rise and Fall of an American Forest* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 1–3.
5. Mark Van Dorn, ed., *Travels of William Bartram* (New York: Dover Publications, 1955), 64–65; *Hawkinsville News*, 23 Mar. 1887.
6. Earley, *Longleaf*, 2.
7. Ibid. Eugenia Price, *The Beloved Invader* (New York: Avon Books, 1965), 7–9; “Eugenia Price,” *The New Georgia Encyclopedia*, <http://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/nge/Article.jsp>. Accessed March 12, 2013. The GL&LC is hereinafter cited as the “Dodge Company,” a name locally used to describe a corporation that went through various names and leadership changes.
8. Daniel Lord Smail and Andrew Shryock, “History and the ‘Pre,’” *American Historical Review*, vol. 118, no. 3 (June 2013): 709–13.
9. *Hawkinsville Dispatch*, 2 Mar. 1876; *Eastman Times*, Mar. 23, 1876.
10. Van Doren, *Travels*, 256–57; *McIntosh Herald* (Darien), June 30, 1839; *Milledgeville Southern Recorder*, June 12, 1853.
11. *Hawkinsville Dispatch*, Feb. 18, 1875.
12. *Hawkinsville Dispatch*, Mar. 23, 1876.
13. *Eastman Times*, Dec. 4, 1879; *Savannah Morning News*, 26 Jan. 1880.
14. *Hawkinsville Dispatch*, 18 May 1873.
15. Ibid., 7 Feb. 1878 and 9 May 1878.
16. *Eastman Times*, May 22, 1879.
17. Wetherington, *Plain Folk's*, 301.
18. *Savannah Morning News*, Aug. 26, 1872.
19. Ibid.
20. *Macon Weekly Telegraph*, Mar. 13, 1877.
21. *Savannah Morning News*, Aug. 26, 1872; *Eastman Times*, Jan. 31, 1873.
22. *Eastman Times*, Jan. 31, 1873; *Macon Weekly Telegraph*, Mar. 13, 1877.
23. *Eastman Times*, Jan. 31, 1873 and Dec. 6, 1877; *Savannah Morning News*, Jan. 26, 1880.
24. *Savannah Morning News*, Jan. 26, 1880; Albert G. Way, *Conserving Southern Longleaf: Herbert Stoddard and the Rise of Ecological Land Management* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2011), 31.
25. *Cobb County Times* (Georgia), May 3, 1923; *Savannah Morning News*, Aug. 26, 1872.
26. *Macon Telegraph*, July 28, 1888.
27. *Hawkinsville News*, Mar. 31, 1886; *Savannah Morning News*, Jan. 25, 1886; *Dodge County Journal*, Nov. 24, 1887.

28. *Savannah Morning News*, Jan. 25, 1886; *Macon Telegraph*, July 28, 1888; Dell Upton, "Social History of Architecture," in Wilson, ed., *New Encyclopedia*, v. 21, 182–83.
29. United States v. Lancaster, et al, *Federal Reporter*, v. 44, 906.
30. Ibid., 918.
31. Ibid., 886; *Hawkinsville Dispatch*, Mar. 23, 1887.
32. *Savannah Morning News*, Sept. 23, 1878.
33. Wetherington, *The New South Comes to Wiregrass Georgia, 1860–1910* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1994), 154–55.
34. Ibid., 169.
35. Ibid., 76–77.
36. *Telfair Enterprise*, Oct. 31, 1907; *Jeffersonian* (Thomson, Georgia), 6 July, 1911.
37. Wetherington, *New South*, 160–69; Harry Crews, *Classic Crews: A Harry Crews Reader* (New York: Touchstone, 1993), 42.
38. *Eastman Times*, Mar. 18, 1877; Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Americans: The Democratic Experience* (New York: Random House), 103–4; Robert J. Cangelosi, "Non-Residential 20th-Century Architecture," in Wilson, *New Encyclopedia*, v. 21, 116–17.
39. Sears Roebuck and Co., *Catalog*, 1923, 958; *Telfair Enterprise*, Oct. 31, 1907.
40. *Macon Telegraph*, Feb. 12, 1911 and Oct. 20, 1920.
41. Upton, "Social History of Architectue," 188–89.
42. *Eastman Times*, Oct. 2, 1884; Way, *Conserving Longleaf*, 34–35.
43. Rick Meigs, "Ferris Jacob Meigs" in "Meigs Family History and Genealogy", [www.meigs.org/ferris1146.htm](http://www.meigs.org/ferris1146.htm). Accessed July 28, 2013.
44. Earley, *Longleaf*, 8–13.
45. *Eastman Times Journal*, Jan. 7, 1932.

# “Houses Will Be Built Everywhere”: Modernity and Urban Space in the Press, Minas Gerais, Brazil, 1884–1914

*James William Goodwin Junior*

## **Minas Gerais and Brazil after Revolution**

Between 1884 and 1914, Brazil experienced a great social upheaval, with diverse forces moving in different directions. The Abolitionist movement was composed both of urban intellectuals leading rallies and street campaigns and by slaves or liberated men leading violent revolts and uprisings. Young groups of intellectuals and military led the Republican movement, craving reform. Politicians who saw an opportunity to change the centralized nature of the Empire also joined them, and later farmers disillusioned with the role the government played toward the end of slavery. The opening of new economic frontiers brought about a new kind of financial speculation, which, along with the fluctuation of coffee prices in the international market, fostered inflation and recession. Yet industrialization changed the urban environment in Brazil. New problems emerged as underpaid workers crammed into slums, and labor movements challenged the established order, organizing ever-greater strikes. Immigration added new faces and languages to urban centers in the Southeastern part of the country. Germans and Italians arrived first followed by Japanese. Later Arabs, Lebanese, and Turks spread through different parts of the country. In rural areas, messianic movements preaching the end of poverty became bloody wars of repression as the new Republican government tried to establish itself. In the capital city of Rio de Janeiro, the great reform, aiming at an environment more akin to capitalist development, resulted in

a hygienic campaign to cleanse the slums that flared up into a great popular revolt and street battles.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, it is fair to say that

[t]he twentieth century began in Brazil with a great sense of hope. The abolition of slavery in 1888 and the declaration of the republic in 1889 signaled Brazil's final break with its colonial past. Throughout these political and social upheavals, Brazilians increasingly turned to science and, to an even greater degree, technology to gain control over the unruly world around them. Some intellectuals and politicians held a nearly religious belief in the power of technology to provide both the order and the progress promised by the declaration of the republic. Automobility became a centerpiece in the collection of technologies that these leaders would use to transform Brazil.<sup>2</sup>

In the midst of this, both geographically and politically, the economic and political elites of Minas Gerais were struggling to reinvent the divided province as a unified state.

Throughout the Empire and Republic, despite Minas's relative economic decline (compared with Rio de Janeiro and the emerging São Paulo), its national political prominence continued and grew. Over the past two centuries, Minas Gerais has played a key—if not *the* key—role in nearly every major national political turning point. In the nineteenth century, mineiro politicians played leading roles in the imperial government, and the state played a decisive role in the stabilization of the Republic in the 1890s. Although the state's republicans were in disarray in the first years of the Republic, they quickly regrouped to form a cohesive and unified political block, the largest congressional delegation in the national assembly.<sup>3</sup>

Minas Gerais is famous today for its eighteenth-century UNESCO World Heritage Baroque architecture derived from its booming slave-driven gold mining economy. During this period of Brazil's history, Minas Gerais arguably hosted the largest urban concentration in the American continent, similar to other mining towns, such as Spanish Potosi. Following the decline of gold by the nineteenth century, economic diversification and regional expansion created a territory as large as France, yet one that was more diverse culturally, economically, and geographically. In the words of John Wirth, "that Minas is not one region, but rather a mosaic of seven different zones or sub regions is fundamental."<sup>4</sup> Diverse paths were followed among its towns, and economic and social aspects greatly varied from one region to another. Even so, in all of them one could find a common goal shared by many groups within the local elites: to develop the region and the state, following what was then called "progress" in emulation of the development of Western European countries and the United States of America.

This chapter follows the role that the men of the press played in promoting the idea of progress and modernity to the vast region of Minas Gerais. They

formed a segment of educated elites, mainly masculin—women were rare in newspapers at the time, in Brazil as in many other countries. They considered themselves imbued with a special responsibility. They assumed that their intellectual condition gave them a clearer perspective on the world. Therefore their task was to reveal and interpret reality to their fellow citizens, acting as guides toward modernity and civilization. The newspaper names clearly illustrate their modern mission: *O Pharol* (“The Lighthouse”), *A Estrela Polar* (“The Polar Star”), and *A Idea Nova* (“The New Idea”), among others.<sup>5</sup>

As elsewhere, the existence of local newspapers served both as evidence of modernity and as a way to foster its emergence. The men of the press took it upon themselves to define what Progress, Civilization, Modernity meant and how they should apply this Universalist message to local circumstances. They wrote articles critical of the present state of affairs, naming who or what was at fault, and judging solutions to improve the situation. Moreover, although all of them had a common vocabulary and very similar ideas, each region and each city demanded that local newspapers fight their own political feuds, and focus on regionally specific problems. Given the variety of circumstances in diverse centers, this chapter compares the modernizing discourse produced by newspapers in three different cities: Diamantina, in the center-north area; Juiz de Fora, on the southeastern region; and Belo Horizonte, the new central political capital of Minas Gerais.

Diamantina was born out of the diamond rush that started at the end of the seventeenth century, and was the object of distinct measures by the Portuguese empire. The city controlled a specific geographic district and had a special code of regulations. Despite having the largest urban population in the North-Northeast of Minas Gerais, it became the county seat in 1838 after independence. Well into the nineteenth century, diamond mining continued as the main trade in the region, giving rise to rich families that invested in commerce, provision trade, and other ventures, stretching their network well beyond the frontiers of Minas Gerais, and pouring wealth into the port city and Brazil’s capital, Rio de Janeiro.

During the peak of the diamond mining through the 1870s, Diamantina’s elites lived in a state of enrichment and refinement that impressed even foreign travelers. French scientist Saint-Hilaire and the Bavarian baron and entrepreneur Von Eschwege both came to work and live in the town. The changes in habit and custom were enhanced by the arrival of the Portuguese Royal Family to Brazil in 1808. Their arrival opened the country to British, and later to French, cultural influences while simultaneously pushing imperial elites toward independence. Formal culture following European models, adapted to Brazilian slave and manorial reality, became a banner for the privileged. This strengthened the already wide social distinctions and added one more element of segregation and hierarchical stratification. This was the self-proclaimed “good society”: white, free from work, landed and educated.



Owing to its mining wealth, the region of High Jequitinhonha became the space with the largest state presence. It developed a denser urban network, and interacted more commonly with the dynamic areas in the Brazilian Southeast. Especially in Diamantina, European Catholic influence deeply marked local culture, by way of governmental bureaucratic action. After the 1860s, schools were run by Catholic clergy and by Lazarites fryers and nuns. The epithet “Northern Athens,” which Diamantina elites gave to their town in the early decades of the century, is a telling sign of the attention given to high culture in this portion of the Jequitinhonha valley, famous for its serenades, the *arraio* tapestries, *soirées*, and troubadours, all manifestations of elitism imported from Portugal.<sup>6</sup>

### Progress and the Press

Diamantina’s press flourished, strengthened by an intense political debate among regional elites. The first full-blown Republican paper in Minas Gerais, *O Jequitinhonha*, arrived in 1869. The paper emphasized the importance of “the lettered culture” for local elites, as well as their capacity for a symbolic demonstration of their growing attachment to modernity. This remained true despite an environment with so little space for reading. These limitations, however, served as an advantage for the local elites as modernization, then as now, was far from being universal or democratic.

In the Southeast of Minas Gerais, the city of Juiz de Fora began as a gathering of farms along the road between the gold mines and the capital city of Rio de Janeiro. With the establishment of coffee plantations in the early decades of the nineteenth century, it became the focal commercial point for the region and a county seat in 1850. By the 1870s, it was the richest, most developed city in Minas Gerais. Elite families invested the wealth derived from coffee plantations and slave labor in roads, railways, factories, banks, electrical facilities, and other business opportunities.

The city of Juiz de Fora had, from very early on in its history, a strong presence of European immigrants among its workers. The União & Indústria Co. (“Union and Industry”) created the first great immigration hub in the region. One was a German colony of technicians that built the company’s paved road to Petrópolis, the summer seat of the Emperor on the way to Rio de Janeiro. The other was a colony of German farmers. Although the farming project failed, the settlers sought out new options, gradually adapting to urban life, thus broadening or creating new urban services and crafts within the burgeoning community.<sup>7</sup> Juiz de Fora also received Italian immigrants, who strengthened the town’s commercial sector in the years after the 1870s. The colony grew to such importance that newspapers published whole columns in Italian, like the *Sezione italiana* signed by G. Bauducci in the *Jornal do Commercio*. The newly unified Italian government back in Europe even installed a Vice Consulate in Juiz de Fora. The municipality fostered that relationship, ordering Leonardo

Garella to write a booklet to attract new Italian immigrants to the city, which he calls by the local epithet: “the Princess of Minas.”<sup>8</sup>

The city’s geographical position, relatively close to Rio de Janeiro, eased the flow of immigrants. It also generated stronger ties with the country’s political center and its large coffee export harbor, rather than with the region’s own capital. Maraliz de Castro Vieira Christo emphasizes the distance between the baroque mentality of Minas’s hinterland and Juiz de Fora:

Acquiring the city *status* halfway through the 19th century, Juiz de Fora does not partake of the colonial mineira culture. From this, the region came to know only the poor side. [ . . . ] The aforementioned singularity resides not only in the non-participation, but also in a strong anti-baroque—in so far as a baroque way of life. Juiz de Fora doesn’t participate and does not identify itself with the “mineiridade” [Minas way of being], as opposed to Belo Horizonte, which, up to the 1920s, appears as an extension of Ouro Preto [the colonial and imperial capital].<sup>9</sup>

This differentiation was clearly articulated by the way the Zona da Mata farmers, around Juiz de Fora, called themselves “the Yankees of Minas.”<sup>10</sup> This identification with the United States of America became stronger as the city’s industrialization advanced. Along with many other local characteristics, this called attention in the United States toward Juiz de Fora, resulting in a new conflict between a modern northern Protestantism versus a “decadent” and baroque European Catholicism.<sup>11</sup> During 1886, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, used the pages of the local Liberal newspaper, *O Pharol* (“The Lighthouse”), to announce its presence, in articles rebuking attacks from the leaders of the dominant Catholic faith. In the same year it founded *O Methodista Catholico* (“The Catholic Methodist”) in Rio de Janeiro, which would become the denomination’s official newspaper in the country. The Rev. John James Ransom, then the main Methodist missionary in Brazil, kept a regular correspondence with the local men of the press. Moreover, the Methodist Church invested in education, aiming especially at the formation of the local elite’s children. In 1890, the church started the *Colégio Americano* (“American College”), later renamed Granbery. The American College was the first Protestant school in Minas Gerais.

The urban culture forming in Juiz de Fora also tried to emulate the model adopted by French political and cultural elites in the Second Empire and the early Republic. A model that paid homage to the Western European world and, in a smaller but growing scale, to the United States. In urban terms, this meant clearly adopting “Hausmann” and City Beautiful principles, exemplified by the remaking of Paris and the Macmillan Plan for Washington, DC. These were reflected in the city’s urban drawings, and in the debates and interventions of the City Council.

The creation of the new city of Belo Horizonte, originally called *Cidade de Minas* ("City of Minas"), in 1897, eight years after the proclamation of the Republic, had the specific purpose of creating a new state capital that would be modern, healthy, beautiful, and civilized. Built upon an area forcefully depopulated of its former inhabitants, the new city conflated the basic ideas about urban environment that circulated in Western countries, thus creating a monument to progress and modernization as commonly understood by Republican elites in the turn-of-the century Brazil. The government of Afonso Pena who would later become president of Brazil, led the project that was initially directed by Aarão Reis, a civil engineer.

With Paris as his model, Reis designed a geometric grid plan cut by diagonals. Although perhaps intellectually satisfying, the plan made few concessions to functional realities and topography, and certainly did not anticipate the future demands of automotive transport.<sup>12</sup> Decades later, Carlos Drummond de Andrade, a student moving from the interior of Minas Gerais, who became the country's one of the greatest poets, captured the impact of this planned, gridlocked urban space:

Why such large streets?  
Why such straight streets?  
My crooked step  
Was regulated by crooked alleys  
From whence I came.<sup>13</sup>

All the men of the press and the elite leaders of the three cities shared a common rhetoric of hope, change, and progress. This was accompanied as elsewhere with the value given to modernizing technological apparatuses and borrowed Western urban aesthetics. In 1884, Juiz de Fora installed its first telephone lines, and in 1914, the railroad reached Diamantina.

Progress, as a concept and a term, was a loosely understood idea in many different countries and cultures around the Atlantic world. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, merchants, industrialists, bankers, missionaries, teachers, scientists, explorers, and soldiers made this idea portable to other regions of the globe, often forcefully exported through colonialism. Progress was both as a cultural way of defining reality and a force through which European countries—and the United States—imposed their way of life upon what they believed were the stagnant peoples in Africa, Asia, and Oceania. Some of its clearest and most concrete manifestations were technological appliances and mass-produced equipment, such as locomotives, steamboats, electricity, telephone, and of course weapons. All items in what Joel Wolfe calls the "collection of technologies" will here be seen as the visible signs of civilization.

Progress and modernity was therefore never monolithically defined. They functioned as protean concepts that took many forms and became concrete in

diverse ways. There was no original version translated into other languages, but rather a common vocabulary from which different cultures chose and mixed ideas and concepts in different ways, reinventing and blending them into new forms—as if melting in air, Marx and Engels’s famous phrase, recaptured by Marshall Berman.<sup>14</sup>

### **The City as a Showcase of Progress**

For the men of the press, and the elite power holders, the notion of Progress was synonymous with urban space. The city was an arena, where the battle for modernity was fought. The proposed development of urban environments included technical improvements for the betterment of life, yet often exceeded the goals of comfort and practicality. The goal of urban reform was the construction of a modern, beautiful, civilized, and healthy city, as defined by the men of the press. Therefore it was necessary to modify not only buildings and streets, but also habits and values.

One of the main tasks assumed by the men of the press was to educate their readership about modernity and urban progress. Although the number of literate people was not high, the press had an important reach. In most towns of Minas Gerais, the practice of reading newspapers aloud to a group of illiterate listeners survived well into the twentieth century. This oral tradition amplified the influence of written text. This was a practice that the men of the press knew and counted on, as can be seen in the way some writers took the oral rhythm in account when writing their articles, which included dialogues, onomatopoeic words, proverbs, and idiomatic expressions.

By direct exposition of their arguments and commentaries on the facts reported, coupled with constant dissemination of good examples and fierce critique of mistakes and errors, the men of the press proved to their listeners and readers their mastery and understanding of the urban environment. To borrow from Gramsci, their goal was to transform their speech into hegemonic discourse, so that their worldview appears to all as the natural way to think, see, and live in a city.<sup>15</sup> Even if they were not always successful, their effort should not be disregarded, for they had the means to create a formal discourse and used their position and power to impose it or seduce other members of society to accept, to agree, and even to desire it as crafted narrative of what a good city should be.<sup>16</sup>

It is noteworthy that, in a state like Minas Gerais, urban space should become a major interest of the Republican elites, as shown in the construction of the new capital, Belo Horizonte. Although wealth and political power took its roots mainly in the rural areas, the new city became the showcase for regional progress and modernity. One reason for this was that, at the same time that urban modifications could bring home the global expansion of bourgeois society, work relations and social arrangements in the rural areas often survived unchanged prior to this period. Indeed, urban modernity often

came to the aid of established rural traditions, revealed in this advertisement, meant to convince farmers around Juiz de Fora to install telephone lines:

To the Master Farmer it is an improvement of uncontested utility and even of tranquility. Having a set in his farm one can verbally communicate with his employees without having to distract a bell-boy from other chores. For reason of sickness, one can call a doctor immediately. In case of insubordination by the hands in the farm, one can ask for help from the nearest station, which in turn will call the competent authorities. (*Pharol*, September 29, 1883)<sup>17</sup>

One of course has to keep in mind that the time and place of the advertisement would most certainly mean that the “hands” mentioned as a possible threat would be those of slaves, as many coffee plantations occupied the rural area.

Focusing investment within urban environment, while neglecting the rural areas, forced visible signs of modernization into a circumscribed space, with a higher concentration of people. This enhanced the effect caused by the presence and immediate impact of technological equipment such as telephone lines and electrical lighting, transportation machines like trolleys and automobiles, and water pumps and pipes. This effect was magnified by architectures and features identified with modernity through the use of glass such as those found in new shop windows, and new technologies of sight and sounds found in photographic studios, phonographic stores, and movie theaters. Even in the absence of a real industrial base, as was the case in Diamantina, the impression of a new life, modern and civilized, could be created with these few elements, compacted into the relatively small area of the city. The mere installation of lampposts created a perfect opportunity to celebrate and commemorate the power of progress through light:

ELECTRICAL LIGHTING // This past Sunday, misters Ramos, Guerra, Araujo & Comp. had bulletins spread, inviting the public to watch the beginning of electrical light works and, at the scheduled time, a great number of people being present, the music of the 3rd Battalion etc. the first pole was affixed at the Old Cavalry plaza, closing the ceremony with delirious acclamations to the firm, to the Executive Agent, to Dr. Wenceslau Braz etc. // In almost all the center of town the poles are already fixed at a distance of 40 to 45 meters, more or less, in straight line, and in curves this distance varies, according to need. (*A Idea Nova*, August 7, 1910)

Newspapers defended the use of technology as a tool for urban betterment—or, to quote a much-used expression, “the embellishment of the city.” Poles, whether for telephone or electrical lines, changed the city skyline. Sidewalks, trolley trails, and traffic signs altered the streets and how pedestrians encountered the city. Lamps on poles, in shop windows, inside taverns and houses, brightened

the night, giving it the allure and productivity of daytime. New improvements were well-commented news in the printed pages, driving home the ideal of a city transformed into a more amiable living space by the forces of progress.

Inevitably, not everything was satisfactory to the men of the press. One of the most forceful—and common—ways of delineating the new urban profile was to criticize what was out of place in this new standardized vision of what a modern city should be.

Animals were a permanent reminder of the feeble distinction between the modern urban environment and traditional rural habits. A few months before the official inauguration of the new capital, there were still complaints about aggressive dogs loose on its streets (*Aurora*, June 1, 1897). The issue of stray dogs appeared on different newspapers in many towns, an ever-present reminder that the city was not yet completely civilized.

Dogs were not alone in disturbing the peace sought by the news publishers. In Juiz de Fora a “mad cow” serenaded streets at night. According to reports, her mooing “haunts the population and raises the hair of passers-by” (*Pharol*, July 10, 1900). In Diamantina the cattle problem was aggravated by the town’s dependency on mule trains to feed the population. The men of the press helplessly denounced the danger these animals posed as herdsmen sent them running down the streets (*A Idéia Nova*, June 24, 1906). Moreover, animals were presented as a grave threat to the sanitary conditions of the city:

Complaints and dissatisfactions—Market

One writes to us: “Strangeness and desolation will come to the least demanding observer by the pitiful state of the Guaicuhy Baron square, one of the most inhabited and central in this town. There is located the general food market and the most repugnant manure pit, a haven for flies, due to the permanence of animals on that spot for long hours of the day. The town council could pay attention to the matter, forbidding that permanence, inconvenient from every point of view. [ . . . ] The animal’s dejections, in continuing state of fermentation, form, with the rainfall, poodles of putrid mud, from whence nauseating exhausts escape, putting in danger the health and life of all that have the sorry need to attend such manure pit.” (*A Idéia Nova*, May 6, 1906)

The men of the press treated general cleanness and the aesthetics of sanitation as a sign of civilization. The opposite, of course, was considered an obstacle on the way to progress. Newspapers routinely complained about dirty streets. They raged against the habit of raising animals (cattle, pigs, fowl) within city limits, and criticized the way poor people dressed. A dirty city was the opposite of a modern city.

Yesterday, early evening, on the 15 November Street, a maiden, slipping, probably on a banana peeling, took a grave fall, from which

resulted a big gash on her forehead. The sidewalks are carpeted with fruit peelings throw purposely by perverse individuals. What is even more awing, though, is that the mister inspectors do not attend to such things, alas, much common in this town. (*Pharol*, January 28, 1904)

For the press and their elites health was the most important function of modern urban space. Therefore one of the main concerns was water. Running, it had to be distributed and well used; stagnant, it had to be eradicated; once used, it had to be controlled and disposed of. Pipelines, fountains, and gutters were regular concerns in the printed pages. In Juiz de Fora, the municipality took a heavy loan to finance the construction of a water distribution system, covered almost daily by the local press (see, e.g., *Pharol*, June 27, 1886). Decades later, there was harsh criticism of Diamantina's old "premodern" distribution system, built with wood and rock, due to its unsanitary conditions (*A Estrela Polar*, May 3, 1914).

Newspapers were also very concerned with the townspeople. A new urban environment needed new citizens. The press waged a constant campaign to educate the city dwellers on how to live their modern role properly. New technologies, sometimes, implied a change in behavior that not everyone was eager, or able, to make. The arrival of the first automobiles was the most prominent occasion.

By the early 1910s, most of the state capitals had at least a few cars on their streets. There were even parades of automobiles in Belém and Manaus in the 1910s. Spotting a city's first automobile left a lasting impression. In his memoirs, Jorge Americano recounted the Sunday morning at the turn of the century when he first saw a car in São Paulo. "Americano's excitement over spotting the motorcar was tempered by his fears of what vehicles traveling at 30 kilometers per hour would do to the peaceful city streets and how such speeds would threaten the safety of children."<sup>18</sup>

Juiz de Fora was not a state capital, but in the 1910s it was the regional capital of the wealthiest region in Minas Gerais. Therefore, the same feelings experienced in São Paulo were echoed in Juiz de Fora's newspapers. The men of the press heralded the arrival of the first automobiles in the city with great pride, for the machines were seen as symbols of modernity. However, they created new problems, regarding the pavement of streets, or the dangerous incidents related to the new vehicle's speed:

Auto-Traffic [ . . . ] Juiz de Fora's public can enjoy already the pleasure of going for a cruise in these elegant and fast vehicles, called automobiles. All the good things in the world, though, have their confirmation followed by the embarrassing *but* e so it is that the automobile's delights bring their inconveniences. // What is needed is a reprimand to the "chauffeurs" by the rightful authority, so they

won't make fly their automobiles, otherwise we will have to register regrettable accidents. The cabs, according to a special municipal by-law from the City Council, cannot go off like a stampede, without the proper punishment. [ . . . ] Another inconvenience, but its removal depends on the City Council, is the powder raised by the automobile, leaving a high cloud of dust, that takes time dissipating itself. [ . . . ] It's necessary that our zealous Municipality attend to this need—the irrigation of the main streets through which the vehicles run. // Already the complaints against the dust are general. (*Diário Mercantil*, May 5, 1912)

Nonetheless, the newspaper writers never missed the chance to register their positive impression left by the new machines. Clovis Jaguaribe, manager of the Empresa Auto-Viação (“Auto-Traffic Co.”), of automobile service, offered the newspaper a stroll up to the Barreira (“barrier”): “we made the whole route in 12 minutes only, fact that abundantly witnesses to the excellency of the Empresa Auto-Viação’s automobiles and the expertise of its chauffeurs” (*Diário Mercantil*, August 21, 1912).

Regarding the inhabitants of the city, their nocturnal habits were a reason for special concern in the newspapers, addressed in texts that usually involved the police. In Juiz de Fora, for example, the press complimented the police chief for the orders to arrest every unoccupied individual who frequented the taverns, officially admonishing them to change their lifestyle (*Jornal do Commercio*, January 23, 1901). In Diamantina, in the fittingly named Key Alley, “the plangent sound of guitars, herdsman’s curses, the nasal chewing of the accordion, rounds, *lundus*, King’s songs and hurting ouches” mingled, and the police captain was called to conduct this orchestra with his baton (*A Idéia Nova*, April 29, 1906). In the capital, Belo Horizonte, the police itself was called into question on news that the Second District station was becoming a showplace: “for every night we have there guitars playing, flutes and able singers” (*O Astro*, January 27, 1910).

What the educated elite at the time considered inappropriate behavior could well be called the leisure activities of the poor and the working class. Nevertheless, they had no place in the “civilized city” of the press, for

[t]he ideological universe of the Brazilian dominant classes in the Second Empire’s agony and, later, during the Old Republic seems to be divided in two worlds that are defined by the opposition between them: on one side, there is the world of labor; on the other, there is the world of idleness and crime. In the dominant speech, the world of idleness and crime is at the fringes of civil society—that is, it is a marginal world, conceived as the inverted image of the virtuous world of moral, of work and of order. This inverted world—amoral, idle and chaotic—is perceived as an aberration, that must be repressed and controlled so it won’t compromise order.<sup>19</sup>



### Urban Identity and the Press: "Houses Will Be Built Everywhere"

Among the many issues approached by the men of the press while building their perfect city in paper was the construction of an urban identity. Printed upon the sheets and pressed upon the locals, although it reflected the urban ideals circulating among the cultural elites of the West, it critiqued the relation between the known past and the ideal future in each locality.

To educated elites in Belo Horizonte, this seemed not to be a problem. To build the city its space had been emptied of its former occupants and their memory. Almost everyone came from a different place, even from foreign countries, to start life anew in a brand new town. For the men of the press, there was, therefore, no past to deal with, only an open future to build. Articles condemning the way people behaved in the city suggested that there was a struggle between too many different traditions, each one trying to accommodate itself into the new urban fabric, none of which was approved by the men of the press. Juiz de Fora is, in a sense, a predecessor of Belo Horizonte. Its urbanization occurred during the late nineteenth century, following a somewhat flexible pattern while trying to emulate the advancements of capitalist countries. For example, only eight years after the last emperor of Brazil Dom Pedro II "the Magnanimous" held, astonished, a telephone receiver in the Philadelphia Exhibition of 1876, Juiz de Fora had its own telephone company.

Progress was engraved into the city's identity. Its past, short as it seemed, was read as the ground upon which the city's destiny was built and served as a guide for further development. A clear example is a series of articles published on the first day of the twentieth century, later published as a separate booklet: "in a quick synthesis, today's newspaper consecrates the fruitful results that human activity has reaped, in this half century, in this fertile valley of the [river] Parahybuna." Its final paragraph deliberately uses the past to support the future:

May the men of the 20th century be the heirs of this power of initiative, this vigorous emulation, this energetic will and these progressive qualities, these are our wishes to mark the dawning of the new century. (*Jornal do Commercio*, January 1, 1901)

In Diamantina, things were more complicated. As an older city, it had a longer past to address, one that was present in concrete ways. These included the now out of favor colonial architecture, as well as the values and habits in the overwhelming presence of Catholic popular traditions. To make things worse for those who supported modern progress at all costs, the city's regional predominance, and its place of pride in Minas Gerais, was inextricably links to its colonial past derived from the riches and struggles related to the diamond mining society that built the city and that was the main economic activity of the region up to the 1870s. Therefore, for the

educated elites, to shove off the past would mean abandoning the basis of their claims to a special position among other cities and regions, which allowed them to envision new possibilities in the future, like factories and railroads. It was the coming of the railroad, a decades-long process, that moved some men of the press to think about the impact progress would have on Diamantina. Some of them relished the thought that the modern times would change everything.

Curralinho-Diamantina branch:

Fortunately in a little while it will be a splendid reality the old aspiration that always nourished Diamantina to see itself linked to the educated centers of Brazil, by a fast and handy way [ . . . ] In two years at the most, the locomotive will make hear in these lofty hills the promising whistles of progress. Then the Diamantina, which unfortunately was withering in a cruel agony, will rise strong, virile and renewed. Mr. Julio Bueno Brandão and Dr. Juscelino Barbosa will be eternal creditors of the recognition and gratitude of all the people in the North of Minas, who will always see in these two illustrious mineiros the great proposers of an improvement so important, that without it this zone would soon become a cemetery of ruins. (*A Idéia Nova*, December 13, 1908)

Others, like the writer Aldo Delfino in 1909, had mixed feelings about it. For him, the locomotive would surely bring changes to the city:

Throughout the city, and even more near the train station, as by magic, one will see come a whole new population. Houses will be built everywhere. Commerce itself, changing old habits, to the constant sound of maneuvers and the flavor of news brought from leagues and leagues away, from all places, will lose its local face. Nothing will stay without suffering the strange influence of this progress that comes.

Progress comes and claims a bitter price: “Progress is like that. For the good it brings, it deprives us of many good things.” For Delfino the modernization and the massive influx of new people of the city would destroy its identity. “The city’s aspect will be transformed, altered its vocabulary: and every day, with imported bricklayers and carpenters, it will lose what remains still of the picturesque, the air of good primitive times. The children of the land themselves, returning to the country, after the triumphant and noisy entry of the locomotive, will hardly recognize it.” The old city would, thus, be relegated to the past and moved to a different place: “[t]hou, old city, wilt survive reverent, in the memory of the young and in the longing of the old” (*A Idéia Nova*, August 8, 1909). Progress would create a new identity for the city, now stripped of its past, open to an unknown future with no guaranties.

### Reading the Press and Their Cities

To read turn-of-the-century newspapers is to look at a light projector. They are not mirrors, for they do not reflect reality, rather they impose their view, impressing it upon the city. The men of the press wrote about what they considered the perfect city, professing their values and working hard to make them universally accepted. Ironically, at the same time, by constantly condemning what they believed was out of place, they gave us clues on how other groups reacted, conformed to, or confronted those ideas.

The newspapers provide clues about the role of the educated elites. To use language more fitting to these present times, it moves us to question the role of media in defining what a good city to live in should look/sound/smell/taste/feel like. It challenges us to consider conceptions of urban space, then and now.

The image of an ideal city is not the only force that shapes urban development—one also has to consider economic constraints, accessible resources, and other social forces. However, if such an ideal is constructed, and if it becomes a general concept, it has proven in these three cities to influence the way the assets available in Minas Gerais are used.

Through the press, educated members of the elites of Minas Gerais tried to do just that—to impress upon city dwellers a blueprint for a modern, progressive city that would be clean, civilized, and prosperous. Consciously or not, they also fostered an idea of a segregated, unjust, and excluding city, a condition that continues to haunt Brazil.

Brazil in the present, as do other places, continues to have different groups that, through the written press, through visual images and the internet, produce and induce ideals of urban space. We should be aware of these actions, of how this works, and what forces and interests are at stake in molding the ideal of a desirable town—and the importance such an ideal has for those who live in a real city. We should consider all this information in our ongoing discussions of how the urban space was built in the past, how it is being built and rebuilt now, and how it could be built in the near future. Before houses, skyscrapers, shopping centers, or highways are built everywhere.

### Notes

1. For a general view of Brazilian history in English, see Boris Fausto and Arthur Brakel, *A Concise History of Brazil* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Robert Levine, *The History of Brazil* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003) and Thomas E. Skidmore, *Brazil: Five Centuries of Change* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2nd edition, 2009). For the reform and upheavals in the capital, see Teresa Meade, “Civilizing” Rio: *reform and resistance in a Brazilian City. 1889–1930* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997). For an appraisal of the economic changes and upheavals during the 1880s and 1890s, see Steven Topik, *Trade and Gunboats: the United States and Brazil in the Age of*

- Empire* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), especially Chapter 3 – Brazil: From Monarchy to Republic.
2. Joel Wolfe, *Autos and Progress: The Brazilian Search for Modernity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 25.
  3. Marshall C. Eakin, *Tropical Capitalism: the industrialization of Belo Horizonte, Brazil* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), 27.
  4. John Wirth, *Minas Gerais in the Brazilian Federation, 1889-1937* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1977), 2–3. For an economic approach to Minas Gerais’s history, focusing on the changes brought by industrialization and abolitionism, see Douglas Cole Libby, *Transformação e Trabalho em uma Economia Escravista: Minas Gerais no Século XIX* (São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1988).
  5. For the importance of a newspaper’s name, see Maurice Mouillaud, “O Nome do Jornal” in *O Jornal: da forma ao sentido*, organized by Maurice Mouillaud and Sérgio Dayrell Porto (Brasília, Brazil, Paralelo 15, 1997), 85–98.
  6. Marcos Lobato Martins. “Os negócios do diamante e os homens de fortuna na praça de Diamantina, MG: 1870–1970.” (Tese de Doutorado em História Econômica. Orientador: Prof. Dr. Antônio Penalvas Rocha. Programa de Pós-Graduação em História Econômica. São Paulo, FFLCH / USP, 2004. Mimeo), 58. For an urban history of Diamantina and nearby Serro, see José Moreira de Souza, *Cidade: momentos e processos*. Serro e Diamantina na formação do Norte Mineiro no século XIX. (São Paulo: ANPOCS/Marco Zero, 1993).
  7. Mônica Ribeiro de Oliveira, “Imigração e Industrialização: os alemães e os italianos em Juiz de Fora, 1854–1920.” (Orientadora: Ana Maria Santos. Niterói, Programa de Pós-Graduação em História / ICHF / UFF, 1991. Mimeo), 50.
  8. Leonardo Garella, *Città di Juiz de Fora (Minas Geraes - Brazil)*. (Juiz de Fora, Typographia Brazil, 1911. 114 p). Arquivo Histórico do Museu Mariano Procópio. Biblioteca.
  9. Maraliz de Castro Vieira Christo, *A Europa dos Pobres: a belle-époque mineira* (Juiz de Fora: EDUJF, 1994), 9.
  10. Peter Blasenheim, “A Regional History of the Zona da Mata in Minas Gerais, Brazil: 1870–1906.” (Dissertation submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Stanford, Stanford University. March 1982. Mimeo), 26.
  11. Peri Mesquida, *Hegemonia Norte-Americana e Educação Protestante no Brasil* (Juiz de Fora: EDUFJF; São Bernardo do Campo, EDITEO, 1994), 151.
  12. Eakin, *Tropical Capitalism*, 35.
  13. “Por que ruas tão largas? // Por que ruas tão retas? // Meu passo torto // foi regulado pelos becos tortos // de onde venho.” Carlos Drummond de Andrade, *Esquecer para lembrar*. Boitempo III. (Rio de Janeiro, José Olympio, 1979), 9. For the construction of Belo Horizonte and its historical significance, see Eliana de Freitas DUTRA (org.). *Belo Horizonte: horizontes históricos*. (Belo Horizonte, Brazil, C/Arte, 1996); for its relation to the urban ideas circulating during the late nineteenth century, see Heliana Angotti Salguero (org.). *Cidades Capitais do Século XIX: racionalidade, cosmopolitismo e transferência de modelos*. (São Paulo: EDUSP, 2001).
  14. Marshall Berman. *All That Is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (New York: Penguin Books, 1988). For a very interesting study of

- how technology and technological equipment becomes a phantasmagoric image of itself, see Francisco Foot Hardman, *Trem-Fantasma. A ferrovia Madeira-Mamoré e a modernidade na selva*. 2ª ed. revista e ampliada. (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2005), especially the first chapter, “Rain, vapor, speed: projections in the shadow of mechanism.”
15. Antonio Gramsci, *Cadernos do Cárcere*. Vol 2: Os intelectuais. O princípio educativo. Jornalismo. (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2000), 195-251. For an English version, see Antonio Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks*. Translated by Joseph A. Buttigieg. 3 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011). For an illuminating view of the place of intellectual elites in Latin American history, see Angel Rama, *The Lettered City* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996).
  16. The newspapers quoted in this work come from three different archives in Minas Gerais. *O Astro* (1906) and *Aurora* (1896–1897) are in the Linhares Collection of the Central Library in UFMG – Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte, also available at <http://linhares.eci.ufmg.br/index.php?status=3>. *A Idéia Nova* (1906–1912) and *A Estrela Polar* (1903-1914) are in the newspaper collection in Antônio Torres Library/IPHAN—Instituto do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional, Diamantina. *Diário Mercantil* (1912–1914), *Jornal do Commercio*, (1901–1914) and *O Pharol* (1880–1914) are in the Memory Section of Murilo Mendes Municipal Library, Juiz de Fora. In most instances, the translation tried to keep the original flow of the text, especially regarding punctuation. The sign // was used to indicate paragraph breaks; the original typesetters used very small paragraphs, probably to facilitate reading, since the columns were thin and the layout spread texts from the top to the bottom of the pages. One page could have, in certain circumstances, up to eight columns; usually it had four or five. The last page was an exception: covered with advertisements, it had no fixed layout, and sometimes the typesetter fitted ads sideways to better use the space in the page.
  17. The telephone company started its operation in 1883. Resistance to installing poles, for fear of lightening, along with other operational and technical problems, dragged the work for months. It was only in February of 1884 that the whole process was finished and the telephone became operational in Juiz de Fora. It goes to show that dates are only marks to help our work, not meant to encapsulate the flow of historical events or historical interpretations.
  18. Wolfe, *Autos and Progress*, 16.
  19. Sidney Chaloub, *Trabalho, Lar e Botequim: o cotidiano dos trabalhadores no Rio de Janeiro da Belle Époque* (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1986), 49.

# Le Corbusier, Architecture, and Eugenics: From France to Brazil and Back

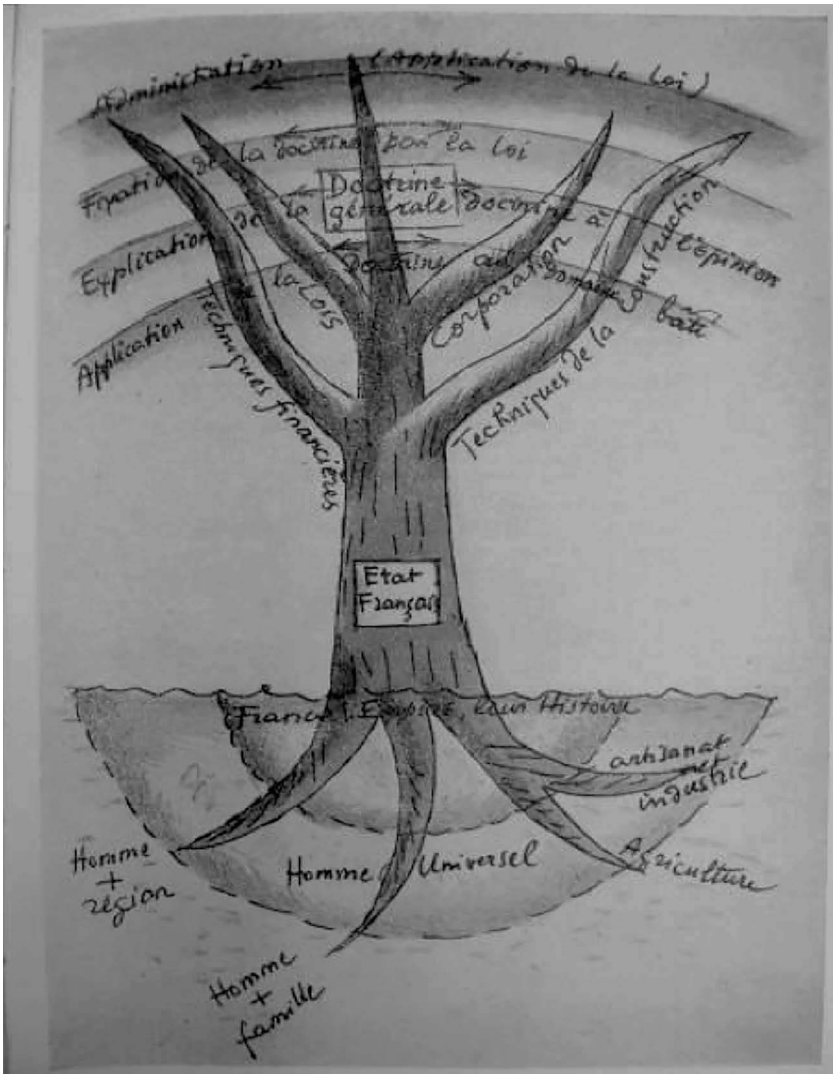
*Fabiola López-Durán and Nikki Moore*

## Le Corbusier and Lamarckian Eugneics

From 1925 to 1948, the famous architect Le Corbusier's work aligns with eugenics and its practice of racial urbanism. From his formulation of universal type-needs, to his *Modulor* and its normative human body, architecture was made complicit in a genetically inspired program that mirrored eugenics attempts on the human race. In a 1942 article slated to present his book, *La Maison des hommes* (The Home of Man), in *Comodeia*, a French popular journal co-opted by the Vichy regime into a vehicle of Nazi propaganda, Le Corbusier presented a drawing of a tree, the first glimpse of his own state doctrine (figure 8.1).<sup>1</sup>

Three roots come from the trunk of the French state. The left root represents the man and his immediate environment, the region. The middle root represents the man and his social structure, the family. And finally the right root represents the cultivation of land beside trade and craft. This triad links milieu, reproduction, and production at the base of the built domain.<sup>2</sup> This same tree recalls Darwin's evolutionary Tree of Life—the *Arbor vitae* by which, in 1837, Darwin graphically illustrated “the interconnectedness of organisms in his theory of evolution.” Le Corbusier co-opted Darwin's diagram to illustrate the interconnectedness of man, nature, and family, all held together by the State and its executive tool—the built environment.<sup>3</sup> Le Corbusier was, with this tree, placing himself within the company of evolutionists, inserting a powerful orthopedic function whereby the stability of the family, the French nation, and its empire depend on the stability of the physical environment.<sup>4</sup> At the epicenter of this doctrine was Lamarckian eugenics.

Lamarckian eugenics was a social and biological movement that strove for nothing less than the improvement of the human race, using heredity and the



**Figure 8.1.** Le Corbusier, *Arbre domaine bâti*, published in Le Corbusier and Francois De Pierrefeu, *La Maison des Hommes*, 1942.

environment as its primary tools. This form of science, or pseudoscience, was based on Lamarck's theory of the "inheritance of acquired characteristics," wherein evolution is driven by adaptation to environmental changes—in contrast to mainstream eugenics that viewed evolution as impervious to the environment and driven solely by genetics.<sup>5</sup> Le Corbusier's diagram, used to present his own book *La Maison des hommes*, clearly positioned architecture as the main

technology of eugenics. Moving from Paris to Brazil and back, this story begins in 1925, in France, on the heels of late-nineteenth and early twentieth-century concerns about human degeneration.<sup>6</sup> It is the transnational story of a “second enlightenment” that attempted to thwart nature’s control over man and his progress, wherein pseudoscientific discourses, articulated in France, crossed the ocean and then became intertwined with the discourses of architecture, aesthetics, landscape, and urban planning in early twentieth-century Brazil.<sup>7</sup>

### The 1925 Paris: Orthopedics

With their eyes trained on the perception of order, aimed to bring the rigor of the hard sciences to art, in 1920 Le Corbusier, Amédée Ozenfant, and the poet Paul Dermée founded a magazine titled *L’Esprit Nouveau*.<sup>8</sup> Defining art as if it were science, these editors found in both fields a dependence on numbers, constants, and invariants, combined with a shared aim to bring order to the world. It was precisely with the inception of this publication that Charles-Edouard Jeanneret, now known as Le Corbusier, underwent the transformation of his own name in a process of objectifying himself, as if this new name would provide order, which he called “the most elevated of human needs.”<sup>9</sup> As the result of a scientific process, he aligned himself with his own definition of art and invented a persona with its own protective shell.<sup>10</sup>

In 1925, for the *International Exhibition of Modern Industrial and Decorative Arts* in Paris, Le Corbusier presented a pavilion also called *L’Esprit Nouveau*. It was both Le Corbusier’s paradoxical architectural contribution to the exhibition and the embodiment of a total work of art and science, penned in four volumes that compiled the articles published since the 1920s in *L’Esprit Nouveau* magazine. These four volumes covered the decorative arts in *The Decorative Art of Today*, architecture in *Towards a New Architecture*, urbanism in *The City of Tomorrow*, and painting in *Modern Painting*.<sup>11</sup> Throughout the pavilion and in *The Decorative Art of Today*, Le Corbusier arrived at a theory he called “type-needs.” This theory served an early normative program through which furniture and the decorative arts most intimately universalize new bodies, measured against a single and ideal human type.<sup>12</sup> Fostered by Hermann Muthesius’ interest in evolutionary object types, and influenced by Adolf Loos’ application of Lamarckian theories and the consequent bare aesthetic of modernism, as expressed in his 1908 essay “Ornament and Crime,” this discourse sprang from a blind and problematic melding of architecture with the social and biological sciences informing criminology and ethnography.<sup>13</sup> Inaugurating this path in *The Decorative Art of Today*, Le Corbusier begins with a discourse on scale. To search for human scale, for human function, he writes, is to define human needs. Furthermore, he states: “These needs are type[s], that is to say they are the same for all of us; we all need means of supplementing our natural capabilities, since nature is indifferent, inhuman (extra-human), and inclement; we are born naked and with insufficient armour.”<sup>14</sup>



Creating a single human typology of a particular scale, Le Corbusier draws everyday objects into the service of man. In *The Decorative Art of Today*, Le Corbusier introduces something new in what he calls an “orthopedic” relationship between objects, furnishings, and the human.<sup>15</sup> The term “orthopedics” is traditionally defined as the branch of medicine attending to the correction of injuries or disorders of the skeletal system. Le Corbusier’s terminology clearly signals a clinical, medical shift in man’s relation to the decorative arts. In his book, Le Corbusier elaborates on the twin concepts of type-needs and type-objects through furniture—the chairs, file cabinets, desks, and utilitarian accessories that have been accelerated, through history. For Le Corbusier, furniture as objects of wealth and accumulation become objects in the service of a medical correction of the human being.<sup>16</sup>

Of course, Le Corbusier is not alone in the history of theorizing a relationship directed toward man’s improvement through contact with his environment. Through this discussion of type-objects, Le Corbusier’s writing leans close to a much older theory of influence, formulated by the eighteenth-century French physician and anatomist Xavier Bichat. In a time before microscopes, Bichat discovered the tissue structure of organs and in 1799 submitted his now famous definition of life as the “ensemble of functions by which death is resisted.”<sup>17</sup> This ensemble, made up of layer upon layer of varying permeabilities, gave new shape to the theories of the body. According to Bichat, “life is a war, a state of resistance against the physical forces of nature,” and thereby the body is variably shielded and made vulnerable to the workings of the outside world through its layered yet permeable membranes.<sup>18</sup> Made up of “vegetable functions”—digestion, circulation, respiration and secretion, and “animal functions”—the cerebral, nervous, and musculo-skeletal systems, Bichat’s body moved beyond the hollow vessel formulations that predated him to offer up a layered body under attack from without. The vegetable functions provided only a rough sketch for a body that remained to be clothed. Drawing on the double entendre built into the French word “habit,” alternately implying a link to daily clothing (as opposed to seasonal fashion, or *la mode*) and to the repetition of customs (as we understand the word “habit” in English), Bichat proposed that it is daily “habit” that both protects the body from its surroundings and refines the animal over and above the vegetable core of man.<sup>19</sup> Le Corbusier’s desire to bring orthopedic correction to mankind through the decorative arts resonates almost too well with Bichat’s focus on everyday habit. As if following Bichat, Le Corbusier pursued a line of study that at once praised and sought to master the influence of the environment on the constitution of the human being, aligning with French historian of science George Canguilhem’s claim that “the body is only quasi-natural” due to its profound responsiveness and vulnerability to life conditions.<sup>20</sup>

The seductive nature of environmental adaptation theories for architects, medical practitioners, and reformers of the twentieth century comes to light in this history of Le Corbusier’s normative projects, and should not be

underestimated. Jean Baptiste Lamarck's work on the effects of the milieu on a given organism, coupled with Charles Darwin's theory of natural selection, and Herbert Spencer's work on the survival of the fittest, became the trendy and timely intersection of research and social theory, trickling into work in medicine, politics, and the plastic arts.<sup>21</sup> It has been postulated that Loos' "Ornament and Crime" offered the contemporary layman the clearest understanding of Lamarckian theory at the time.<sup>22</sup> Loos was clear in his belief that "as culture progresses, [it] frees one object after another from ornamentation . . . [And furthermore] . . . just as conquered primitive races were dying out through a biological process of selection, ornament is facing extinction."<sup>23</sup> He shared this evolutionary stance using race and relative civilization as a measure of progress with Le Corbusier, who also stated in *The Decorative Art of Today*: "we can see decorative art in its decline, and observe that the almost hysterical rush in recent years towards quasi-orgiastic decoration is no more than the final spasm of an already foreseeable death."<sup>24</sup>

Creating an uncanny tie between the decorative arts and evolution, the key to Le Corbusier's work at the time lies in a need to control nature. Perhaps *L'Esprit Nouveau* pavilion represents the earliest stage of Le Corbusier's participation in a kind of "second enlightenment." While the first enlightenment can be identified by man's efforts to throw off the constraints of tradition and religion toward a new understanding of man's freedom and self-control, this untitled "second enlightenment" is marked by the move, enabled by evolutionary theories, to attempt to throw off the constraints of nature, putting man in control of his environment and fate.<sup>25</sup> A monument to standardization, Le Corbusier's pavilion was made of industrial and replicable materials and designed in consideration of the immediate natural surroundings. These surroundings were both a fabrication of natural disorder and a scene to be viewed through the framework of the architecture. Encapsulated in the center of Le Corbusier's ideal cell for human living, a single tree is both protected and constrained by a simple, bare opening in the roof of the terrace. The windows and the opening of the terrace itself create screen-like viewing spaces that both frame and fix nature, creating the illusion of both performance and control.

A garden designed by Mallet Stevens and Jan & Joël Martel at the 1925 International Exhibition of Modern Industrial and Decorative Arts may best exemplify this period's attempts to control nature and the threat of impending death: two trajectories at the center of modernity (figure 8.2). As Jean-Nicolas Forestier, a member of the Parisian Musée Social and the director of Parks and Gardens for the exhibition, recounts their project:

Four tall trees were required for this small garden, and we could not plant them in June, furthermore, their shapes and sizes needed to be strictly identical . . . With audacity, Mr. Mallet-Stevens resorted to reinforced cement . . . The design frankly expressed the material's



**Figure 8.2.** Jaen Martel, Joël Martel and Robert Mallet-Stevens, *The winter garden and the cubist concrete trees at the Art Deco Exhibition*, published by Albert Levy in *Art et Decoration*, Paris, 1925. (Archives: Charmet, Bibliothèque des Arts Decoratifs, Paris, France).

characteristics while its overall perception was that of a tree. . . . It is rather difficult to comprehend the extent of ingeniousness and art that is required to complete such a work.<sup>26</sup>

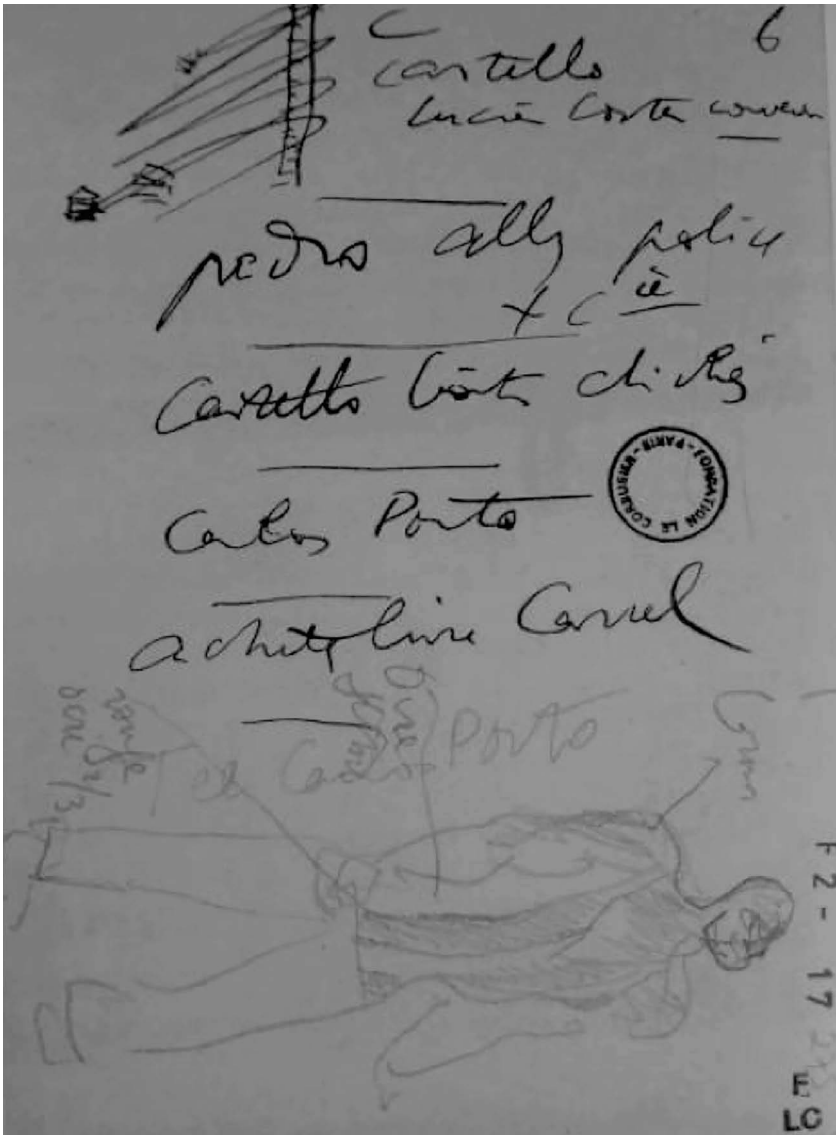
This “ingeniousness,” this move to replace unpredictable, seasonally restricted, nonidentical live trees, with concrete and thus formable, identical, white, implacable, and undying replications foreshadows what architecture could and would do for eugenics movements in Latin America. Forestier, finding a now-familiar balance between the role of nature and the possibilities for change embedded in “proper” nurture, further praised the project, saying “gardens should not merely be constructed, just as they should not merely be planted.”<sup>27</sup> Like Le Corbusier, and possibly far ahead of him, Forestier saw the orthopedic and cultivating potential that the decorative arts and the built environment were already offering to the so-called improvement of man.

**The 1936 Rio de Janeiro: Biology,  
“Change the Environment, Change the Man”**

Between Le Corbusier’s first trip to Latin America in 1929 and his first trip to the United States in 1935, his discourses were centered on the racial and sexual other, the primitive, nature, and death.<sup>28</sup> The fear of degeneration had haunted French society for decades, and a sense of impending death inhabited modernity. Le Corbusier envisioned an antidote to this irrevocable decay in Latin America, and no other place represented the antimodern aspects of decay better than Rio de Janeiro, with its black population and tropical landscape.

In 1936, while preparing his series of talks in Rio de Janeiro, Le Corbusier, in a cardboard sketch, brought together the image of a man and a series of words connecting three apparently unrelated topics: nature, architecture, and eugenics.<sup>29</sup> At the top of his notes, the word “Castello,” followed by the name “Lucio Costa,” the phrases “pedro aller police” and “Castello coûts clichés,” the name “Carlos Porto,” and a reminder to himself, “Acheter livre Carrel,” to buy the book by Alexis Carrel, the French Nobel Prize–winning physician who had just published his 1935 bestseller *Man The Unknown*, a book later considered a manifesto for white superiority with its loud call for the implementation of eugenics.<sup>30</sup> The sketch places together the name of a demolished mountain at the center of Rio de Janeiro (the so-called Morro do Castelo) with the names of Brazilian modern architects, the most important French eugenicist, and the representation of the simple man who became the object of transformation for Carrel, Le Corbusier, and for Brazil’s government (figure 8.3).<sup>31</sup>

What made Le Corbusier think of Carrel while thinking of Rio de Janeiro? Was Carrel’s theory of “the salvation of the white race” at the core of Le Corbusier’s ideas on landscape, urban planning, and architecture? It is not a mere coincidence that Castelo, the greatest eugenic laboratory in Latin America, is the first word that appears on the cardboard. The Morro do Castelo was the pulverized mountain from which thousands of “undesirable” inhabitants, mostly blacks and poor, were displaced in the early 1920s. It was replaced by the “Esplanado do Castelo” that became the stage for the 1922 international exhibition with its neocolonial pavilions and its image of white



**Figure 8.3.** Le Corbusier, Notes and Sketch (n/d) 14,7cm × 10,2 cm Document: F2-17 No. 275. Archive: Fondation Le Corbusier, Paris.

Brazil. Castello was also the name of the epicenter of Musée Social member Alfred-Donat Agache's master urban plan for Rio.

Agache's plan was a medical treatment for Rio, which he called "Mademoiselle Carioca," intended to exercise discipline and control over

a modern tropical city cleansed from diseases and “undesirables,” to be suitable for European life.<sup>32</sup> And, finally, Castelo was also the name of the new building for the Ministry of Health and Education, the institution that would be in charge of developing and enforcing Brazil’s eugenic policies for Getulio Vargas’ new authoritarian regime.<sup>33</sup> The 1937 Ministry of Health and Education building, for which Lucio Costa was chosen as the leader of the design team and for which Le Corbusier was invited as a design consultant, was to be located on the very site where the Castelo mountain once stood. Lucio Costa, the architect best known for designing Brasília, was a main advocate for selective immigration seeing it as the only vehicle to achieve good government and good architecture.<sup>34</sup> Linking the dramatic transformation of the urban territory of Rio de Janeiro with Lucio Costa and then to Carrel’s vision for the remaking of society, Le Corbusier, on one piece of cardboard, distilled and concretized one of the most basic and accepted rationales of modernity: change the environment, change the man. For Le Corbusier, Costa’s eugenic syllogism of breed begetting good government begetting good architecture works also in reverse.

This association between Carrel and the built environment would become the trigger point for much of Le Corbusier’s thinking over the next several years. Yet it was in Rio during that summer of 1936 that Le Corbusier clearly aligned himself with Carrel’s ideas. Evoking Carrel’s eugenics book, Le Corbusier commented to his audience: “Plon, the editor who published my book on North America, celebrates the success of his latest book: *Man, The Unknown* by Dr. Carrel. Write, he told me, a book that will be an echo of that one; I will do it with pleasure: the man and his shell.”<sup>35</sup> This appears to be the very first time Le Corbusier made public reference to Carrel and his work. This cardboard note, where he linked Carrel and Rio de Janeiro with the sketch of a man, was the spark for new theories, which would become a viable doctrine on the remaking of man, via nature, through which the built environment would be put to work. It is clear that Le Corbusier was beginning to work out what would later become his new Plon book, *The Home of Man*, published during the Vichy regime, echoing Carrel’s project for the remaking of society. It is in this book that Le Corbusier provides a clear explanation for how this process of remaking life is completely altered by how humans are housed, whether in the single domestic house, the city at large, the countryside, or the wider metropole.

### **The 1940s—The Free Zone, France: Collaboration**

The 1940s began for Le Corbusier with a “feverish drive” for collaboration. On July 3, 1940, just three days after Maréchal Phillippe Pétain moved to and set up the Vichy Regime within various hotel rooms in the spa town of Vichy, in the so-called Free Zone, Le Corbusier established himself in one of those very same hotels.<sup>36</sup> Driven by his persistent efforts to work with

Pétain's government, Vichy became Le Corbusier's base of operations. During the following two years, Le Corbusier's faith in both the goals of the Vichy Regime and his potential to contribute to them were curbed only by frustrations with the Regime's lack of interest in urban progress, undaunted by the atrocities perpetuated by the regime with which he was eager to collaborate.<sup>37</sup>

Le Corbusier was happy to find a government that was embracing ideas that he had been developing on his own since the 1930s. He had identified these ideas as the base of his core doctrine, first articulated in *Précisions* (1930), the book he wrote about his first trip to South America in 1929. He refined those ideas in *Maison des Hommes* (1942), the book written to emulate Carrel's book, and in five other books written during the 1940s. This doctrine was aimed not only at a new form of living but also at a new form of man.<sup>38</sup> To this end, Le Corbusier's doctrine depended upon firm control over nature through the standardization of living and the creation of a universalized and normative human being, in order to deploy a system of secularized salvation—the quasi-religion of urbanism. Le Corbusier began to articulate the elements of this doctrine in 1930, following his first trip to Brazil. However, it was not until 1936 after he came back from this second trip to Brazil and established a relationship with Alexis Carrel that he was able to solidify his doctrine. For many years nobody was more influential to Le Corbusier than Carrel. At some point in 1937 Le Corbusier sent his books to the celebrated eugenicist, not as an act of cordiality or as publicity for his work, but rather as a way to initiate an intellectual exchange.<sup>39</sup> Le Corbusier wanted the opinion of Carrel, the man who had written the most popularly influential theory of eugenics, embedded in radical racism, sexism, and euthanasia policies for criminals, the mentally ill, and the so-called degenerated.

As soon as Le Corbusier left Paris and established himself in the Free Zone, now in conversation with Carrel, he began to work on the construction of his doctrine. Eager to connect with those in power who would support his architectural and urban plans for France and the Metropole, Le Corbusier committed himself to the communication of his ideas. In a radio broadcast in 1941, Le Corbusier clearly identifies the built environment as both the cause and the cure for degeneration, announcing: "The house problem . . . is the key to both the family's regeneration and the spirit's regeneration, the key to the nation's regeneration ( . . . ) the degeneration of the house, the degeneration of the family, are one."<sup>40</sup> As a result of his exposure, in 1942, Pétain himself announced that Le Corbusier, along with Alexis Carrel, would be a member of the Committee for the Study of Habitation and the Urbanism of Paris.<sup>41</sup> Shortly thereafter, in 1943, Le Corbusier accepted Carrel's invitation to become technical advisor to his French Foundation for Human Research, whose main goal was to cleanse French society of criminals and the insane, as well as Carrel's invitation to be a "technician of value" for his French Foundation

for the Study of Human Problems, known as the Carrel Foundation.<sup>42</sup> After all of his efforts, when the Allies arrived at Normandy and it became clear that Vichy would be on the losing side, Le Corbusier resigned from Carrell's projects, but his enthusiasm for Carrel's ideas never waned.

### **Year 1948—Global: The Modulator—The Antidote**

For the remainder of the 1940s, Le Corbusier worked on the universalization of the last and blatant vestige of his doctrine and associations. The Modulator, the scale to bridge both the metric and Anglo-Saxon systems, was designed to center all aspects of architecture around a particular human model. Modeled on a man of six feet, with a raised arm, Le Corbusier's Modulator was an antidote to disorder, an organizational scheme that imbued regularity and ultimately, normativity, into each of his buildings.<sup>43</sup> The overly large hands and feet of the Modulator, so emblematic of primitivism in modern art, point to Le Corbusier's work in Latin America. The Modulator, imprinted in concrete worldwide, at Le Corbusier's bidding, is the map to his own history and involvement with evolutionary theories, the pursuit of order, normativity and purity, and an enduring global symbol of architecture's past complicities with Lamarckian eugenics (figure 8.4).



**Figure 8.4.** Le Corbusier with a Modular-related model, published in Jean-Louis Cohen and Tim Benton, *Le Corbusier Le Grand*, 2008.



### Notes

1. Le Corbusier, "Architecture et urbanisme: La Maison des hommes" (text manuscript and dactylograph written for *Comoedia* in August 1942), FLC B3-3/ 615 g 630, Paris. This article was unpublished until 1985, when the text was included by Giuliano Gresleri in his introduction to the first Italian edition of Le Corbusier's book *La Maison des hommes*. See Giuliano Gresleri, introduction to *La Casa Degli Uomini* by Le Corbusier and François de Pierrefeu (Milano: Jaca Book, 1985), 22–24.
2. Le Corbusier selected the image of this tree as the quintessential image of *La Maison des Hommes* and the social doctrine it articulates. See Fabiola López-Durán, "Eugenics in the Garden: Architecture, Medicine and Landscape from France to Latin America in the Early Twentieth Century" (PhD diss., MIT, 2009).
3. Ibid., 113. See also Charles Darwin, "Natural Selection; or The Survival of the Fittest," in *On the Origin of the Species*. 1859 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), 7–43.
4. Le Corbusier and François de Pierrefeu, *The Home of Man*, trans. Eleanor Levieux (London: The Architectural Press, 1948), 17. First published in French as *La Maison des hommes* (Paris: Plon, 1942).
5. López-Durán, *Eugenics in the Garden*, 12.
6. Understood as a "self-reproducing force," transmitted from generation to generation, dragging the individual body and society down to decay and final extinction, degeneration became the largest fear-haunting French society and Latin American nations at the turn of the twentieth century. Used to characterize other races as inferior to the white race or to identify the clinical pathologies of an individual, degeneration became a real force: "not the effect but the cause of crime, destitution and disease." Daniel Pick, *Faces of Degeneration: A European Disorder, C. 1848–1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 21. See also Robert A. Nye, *Crime, Madness and Politics in Modern France: The Medical Concept of National Decline* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984).
7. This concept of a "second enlightenment" emerged for the first time in an electronic conversation about nature and urban planning in early twentieth-century Latin America. Nikki Moore elaborated her idea in the following terms: "Working to harness the effects of nature in pursuit of an elusive perfection and freedom, late nineteenth and early twentieth century man found himself rebelling against the natural world as the seventeenth and eighteenth century thinkers rebelled against church and state during the first Enlightenment." Nikki Moore, e-mail message to Fabiola López-Durán, January 2, 2013.
8. *L'Esprit Nouveau: revue internationale illustrée de l'activité contemporaine* published twenty-eight issues between 1920 and 1925.
9. Nicholas Fox Weber, *Le Corbusier: A Life* (New York: Knopf, 2008), 178.
10. Ibid.
11. In 1927, Le Corbusier said that these four volumes "were the theory of which the Pavilion ought to be the materialization." Le Corbusier, "Du Pavillon de L'Esprit Nouveau," in *Almanach d'Architecture Moderne*, 150. See also Christine Boyer, *Le Corbusier: Homme de Lettres* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Architectural Press, 2011), 360. For more information on the International

- Exhibition of Modern Industrial and Decorative Arts, see Anthony Sutcliffe, *Paris: An Architectural History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993).
12. Le Corbusier, *The Decorative Art of Today* (1925), trans. James I. Dunnett (London: Architectural Press, 1987), 72–79. First published in French as *L'Art décoratif d'aujourd'hui* (Paris: Editions Crès, 1925).
13. “Ornament und Verbrechen” (Ornament and Crime) was the title used by Adolf Loos to present his lectures, which he retrospectively dated to 1908. The first publication of “Ornament and Crime” is unknown, but lectures with this title were mentioned for the first time in *Fremden Blatt*, in January 22, 1910. French translations were published in *Cahier d'Aujourd'hui*, in June 1913, and in Le Corbusier’s own magazine *L'Esprit Nouveau*, in November 1920. For an English version see Adolf Loos, *Ornament and Crime: Selected Essays* (Riverside, CA: Ariadne Press, 1997). See also Jimena Canales and Andrew Herscher, “Criminal Skins: Tattoos and Modern Architecture in the Work of Adolf Loos,” *Architectural History* 48 (2005): 235–56 and Christina Cogdell, *Eugenic Design: Streamlining American in the 1930s* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 13–14.
14. Le Corbusier, *The Decorative Art of Today*, 72.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid., 75.
17. “La vie est l'ensemble des fonctions qui résistent à la mort.” Xavier Bichat, *Recherches physiologiques sur la vie et la mort* (Paris: Brosson, Gabon, year 8 [1799–1800]) 1, quoted in Georges Canguilhem, *Knowledge of Life* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2008), 104.
18. “La vie est un combat, un état d'effort contre les puissances physiques de la nature.” Julien-Joseph Virey, “Vie ou force vitale,” *Dictionnaire des sciences médicales*, 60 vols. (Paris: Panckoucke, 1812–22), 57, quoted in Paula Young Lee, “Modern Architecture and the Ideology of Influence,” *Assemblage* 34 (1998): 13.
19. Lee, “Modern Architecture,” 13–14. See also Fabiola López-Durán and Nikki Moore, “Ut-opiates: Rethinking Nature,” *Architectural Design* 80 (2010): 44–49.
20. Stefanos Geroulanos and Todd Meyers, introduction to *Writings on Medicine* by Georges Canguilhem (New York: Fordham University Press, 2012), 10.
21. Jean Baptiste Lamarck, “The Influences of Circumstances,” in *Lamarck to Darwin: Contributions to Evolutionary Biology*, ed. Henry Lewis McKinney (Kansas: Coronado Press, 1971). First published in *Philosophie Zoologique* (Paris: Dentu, 1809); Charles Darwin, *On the Origin of the Species*. 1859 (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2003); Herbert Spencer, *Principles of Biology*. 1864 (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Library, 2009).
22. Cogdell, *Eugenic Design*, 15–16.
23. Ibid., 13–14. Moreover, in 1924 when Loos was asked if ornamentation should be eliminated from the art school curriculum, he replied: “Ornament will disappear of its own accord, and school should not interfere in this natural process, which humanity has been going through ever since it came into existence.” Tying ornamentation to the primitive and also the feminine, Loos further states: “in the final analysis, women’s ornament goes back to the savage” that “the lower the cultural level, the greater the degree

- of ornamentation." See Loos' articles "Ladies Fashion (1898–1902)" and "Ornament and Education (1924)" in *Ornament and Crime*.
24. Le Corbusier, *The Decorative Art of Today*, 96. Both Loos and Le Corbusier assigned ornamentation a low rung on the evolutionary ladder.
25. For Nikki Moore's first definition of the term "second enlightenment," see note 7 earlier.
26. Dorothee Imbert, *The Modernist Garden in France* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993), 40.
27. Ibid.
28. Boyer, *Homme de Lettres*, 457. See also Wendy Martin, "Remembering the Jungle: Josephine Baker and Modernist Parody," in *Prehistories of the Future: The Primitivist Project and the Culture of Modernism*, ed. Elazar Barkan and Roland Bush (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1995), 310–25.
29. Le Corbusier's document FLC F2-17 No. 275, Fondation Le Corbusier. Paris, France.
30. Alexis Carrel, *L'Homme, cet inconnu* (Paris: Plon, 1935). Le Corbusier owned Carrel's bestseller and read it during the summer of 1936. The following note appears, in Le Corbusier's handwriting, on the first page of his own copy of Carrel's book, held at the Fondation Le Corbusier: "Été 1936, Rio + Le Piquey" ("Summer 1936, Rio + Le Piquey"). Carrel's book was simultaneously published in French (with the title *L'Homme cet inconnu*) by Plon in Paris, and in English (with the title *Man, The Unknown*) by the American publisher Harper & Brothers, who also sold the rights to publish condensed chapters of the book in the popular American magazine *Reader's Digest*, contributing to the commercial success of the book. Before the end of the 1930s, Carrel's book was translated into fourteen languages, and by 1940 Harper & Brothers had sold 50,000 copies and Plon 168,000. See Andres Horacio Reggiani, "Alexis Carrel, the Unknown: Eugenics and Population Research under Vichy," *French Historical Studies* 25 (2002): 331–56. For the collaboration and correspondence between Le Corbusier and Carrel see López-Durán, *Eugenics in the Garden*, 185–246.
31. In 1568, after years of battles for the control of the city between Portugal and France, Rio de Janeiro was moved from the base of the Pão de Açúcar mountain in Urca to a new site on the top of a hill on the coast of the Guanabara bay. This hill, called Morro do Castelo, was recognized from that moment on as Rio de Janeiro's original urban setting. However, in 1920, alleging hygienic and eugenic reasons, the mountain was demolished, its inhabitants expelled, and a 815,000 squares meters of flat land—the result of the demolition of the mountain and the new esplanade landfill reclaimed from the sea—was occupied first by neocolonial pavilions (at the time emblems of the modern nation) and then by modern buildings including the Ministry of Health and Education, for which Le Corbusier was the principal consultant. For more on the Morro do Castelo demolition, see López-Durán, "Paris goes West: From the Musée Social to Ailing Paradise," in *Eugenics in the Garden*, 2009.
32. Alfred-Donat Agache, *A cidade do Rio de Janeiro, remodelação, extensão e embelezamento. 1927–1930* (Paris: Foyer Brésilien, 1930).
33. Getúlio Vargas first regime lasted from 1930, the year of the coup d'état that marked the end of the First Republic (1889–1930) to 1945, when a bloodless coup took Vargas out of power. Following the corporatist authoritarian

- regime installed in Portugal in 1933 called Estado Novo, on November 10, 1937, Vargas announced the Brazilian Estado Novo, the authoritarian-nationalist New State that abolished the 1938 forthcoming presidential elections, dissolved the Congress, and built its power on the state's use of violence to suppress any supposed threat to the nation. In 1951, Vargas came back to power, as a democratic elected president, and governed his country until his suicide in 1954. For more on Getulio Vargas's first regime and its struggles over art, architecture, and culture see Daryle Williams, *Culture Wars in Brazil* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001).
34. In a 1928 article, Lucio Costa publicly declared: "I am pessimistic about [architecture and urbanisms in general]. All architecture is a question of race. When our nation is that exotic thing that we see on the streets, our architecture will inevitably be an exotic thing. It is not those half dozen who travel and dress on Rue de la Paix, but that anonymous crowd that takes trains from Central [Station] and Leopoldina, people with sickly faces who shame us everywhere. What can we expect from people like this? Everything is a function of race. If the breed is good, and the government is good, the architecture will be good. Talk, discuss, gesticulate: our basic problem is selective immigration; the rest is secondary—it will change on its own." Lucio Costa, "O arranha-céu e o Rio de Janeiro," in *O País*, Rio de Janeiro, July 1, 1928. Translation ours.
35. "Un éditeur qui publie mon livre sur l'Amerique du Nord: Plon, se félicité en ce moment du succès de son dernier livre: 'L'Homme cet inconnu' du Dr. Carrel. Faites, m'a-t-il demande, un livre qui soit un écho a celui-la ; je le ferai volontiers: l'homme et sa coquille" Le Corbusier, Manuscript Lecture I, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil (07/1936-08/1936), FLC F2-17, Paris. Translated quote in López-Durán, *Eugenics in the Garden*, 195.
36. Nicholas Fox Weber, *Le Corbusier: A Life* (New York: Knopf, 2008), 413–14.
37. For more on Le Corbusier's efforts to collaborate with Pétain's regime see Fox Weber, *Le Corbusier: A Life*, 413–65.
38. In 1948, Le Corbusier stated that the elements of his doctrine were to be found in the books written during World War II. He did not mention *Destin de Paris* (1941) and *Sur les Quatres Routes* (1941), but, as Christine Boyer argues, "any attempt to abstract the elements of Le Corbusier's doctrine is incomplete without them." The list also includes: *L'Urbanisme des Trois Établissements Humains* (1945), *Propos d'urbanisme* (1946), and *Manière de penser l'urbanisme*. See Boyer, *Homme de Lettres*, 617–18.
39. Over many years Le Corbusier and Carrel maintained an intellectual exchange. As early as August 1937, barely a year after Le Corbusier announced in Brazil that he would write a book equivalent to Carrel's bestseller, Carrel sent a four-page letter to Le Corbusier commenting on the importance of Le Corbusier's work to his own theories; and in December 1939, Le Corbusier sent a letter to his mother commenting on his intellectual relationship with Carrel, stating that they were "in perfect agreement." From 1937 to 1943, Le Corbusier sent his books to Carrel, listened to his opinions, attended his lectures, and celebrated each opportunity to collaborate with the infamous French eugenicist. See Carrel's letter to Le Corbusier (FLC E1-12) and Le Corbusier's letter to Carrel (FLC A2-17 No.17) in López-Durán, *Eugenics in the Garden*, 207–11.

40. Le Corbusier, Radio Broadcast (1941), FLC B3-12. No.216, quoted in López-Durán, *Eugenics in the Garden*, 215. In this radio broadcast to present his book *Sur les quatre routes*, Le Corbusier restated an idea he had used at the end of *Destin de Paris*, a small book written during the fall of 1940. Le Corbusier said “The house problem . . . is the key to both the family’s regeneration and the spirit’s regeneration, the key to the nation’s regeneration.” Le Corbusier also states that *Sur les quatre routes* was also the result of preparatory work that he and De Pierrefeu had just assembled for their book *La Maison des Hommes*.
41. Fox Weber, *Le Corbusier: A Life*, 447.
42. Ibid., 462. The French Foundation for the Study of Human Problems, also known as the Carrel Foundation, a pluridisciplinary center with 300 researchers, was created by decree of the Vichy regime in 1941 and lasted until 1944. The main goal of this organization was to “improve” the French Population. For more on the Carrel Foundation, see Alain Drouard, “About the Relationship between Medicine and Social Sciences: The French Foundation for the Study of Human Problems or Carrel Foundation (1941–1945)” in *Histoire des sciences médicales*, 28: 1994.
43. Fox Weber, *Le Corbusier: A Life*, 462.

## Expressions of Political Power: *Casa del fascio*, Modernism, and Vernacular Traditions

*Lucy Maulsby*

The building campaign launched by Mussolini after he came to power in October 1922 included the construction of new medical facilities, schools, markets, post offices, recreational facilities, roadways, airports, as well as the development of new master plans for small towns and major urban centers, all of which were intended to transform Italy and make new Italians. As a part of this effort the National Fascist Party (Partito Nazionale Fascista) oversaw the construction of Fascist Party headquarters (or *casa del fascio*). These party outposts provided physical evidence of the organization's involvement in communities throughout the nation (and its colonies) and an organized base from which a range of fascist institutions and programs operated. The design of these buildings resulted in some of the most celebrated examples of interwar Italian architecture, including Giuseppe Terragni's Fascist Party headquarters or Casa del Fascio (1932–36) in Como and Carlo Danieri's Casa del Fascio (1936–38) in Genoa, but also less well-known examples by a generation of architects influenced by avant-garde modernism and shaped by the cultural imperatives of fascism (figure 9.1). The Fascist Party concentrated its commitment to new construction in the second decade of fascist rule, under the leadership of Achille Starace, who served as the National Party secretary from December 1931 to October 1939. Subsequent party leaders maintained his initiative, despite the party's failing influence and the challenges brought about by increased military conflict abroad, and, eventually, Italy's alliance with Nazi Germany.

To design party headquarters, party officials sought young architects who, as one contemporary commentator noted, represented “the generation born and raised in the wake left and marked by the lost [fascist] heroes.”<sup>1</sup> Many of these architects, particularly in northern Italy where the opportunities as well as pressures brought about by Italy's transformation from a largely agrarian



**Figure 9.1.** Giuseppe Terragni, Casa del Fascio, Como, 1932–6. *Quadrante* 35/36 (October 1936): 5.

to an industrial economy were especially palpable, drew inspiration from international avant-garde modernism and the emergent industrial landscapes around Milan, Turin, and Genoa. At the same time, the incorporation of distinctive architectural forms (towers and balconies) tied to historic examples of

civic authority (namely late-medieval northern Italian town halls) positioned fascism within an apparently continuous Italian tradition.<sup>2</sup>

Party building, often modest in material and scale despite their symbolic connections to prestigious buildings, offered an alternative to the exaggerated monumentality and abstracted neoclassicism favored for many of the regime's building projects. Although Starace concentrated his efforts on expanding the party's presence in established centers of influence, in the final years of the regime, party leaders encouraged the construction of new buildings in communities that were of strategic importance in a changing political landscape but often remote from traditional economic, cultural, and political bases. The architects of these buildings often adopted vernacular forms, materials, and building techniques, a theme in the work of architects tied to rationalism (the Italian variant of avant-garde modernism) since the 1920s.<sup>3</sup> Although scholars have devoted significant attention to *case del fascio* as evidence of fascism's willingness to support architectural modernism and have explored rationalist architects' multifaceted engagement with history, less attention has been given to how and why architects, especially those influenced by modernism, referenced vernacular traditions in the design of these buildings.<sup>4</sup>

The party's building activities in Milan, a major center of commercial and industrial activity and the birthplace of fascism, places select examples within the context of the party's changing priorities in the second decade of fascist rule.<sup>5</sup> The subsequent discussion and analysis of the party's building activity in the northern province of Trentino-Alto Adige contested territory with strong political and cultural ties to Austria, explores the ways in which fascism and the architects involved in giving form to its political aspirations positioned *case del fascio* in very different environment in fascism's final years.

### *Case del fascio: An Overview*

The party's national headquarters in the Palazzo Vidoni in Rome (later transferred to the Foro Mussolini, now Italico) functioned as a base from which the National Party secretary directed the operations of the nation's *case del fascio*.<sup>6</sup> Occupying prominent positions in cities, towns, and villages throughout Italy, these buildings reinforced the party's hierarchical organizational structure. Areas with a large population held a provincial headquarters (called a *casa del fascio* but also *sede federale* or *palazzo littorio*), the most important administrative and symbolic manifestation of fascism's engagement in urban and provincial centers. In the first decade of fascism, party officials typically repurposed historically and architecturally prominent buildings for this purpose. From these outposts, the federal secretary coordinated the activities of local party outposts (called *case del fascio*) and oversaw the affairs of neighborhood groups (*gruppi rionale*) under its command.<sup>7</sup> Each neighborhood headquarters (also called a *casa del fascio*) directed the party's activities according to administrative boundaries or neighborhoods (*rione*) established by fascist officials

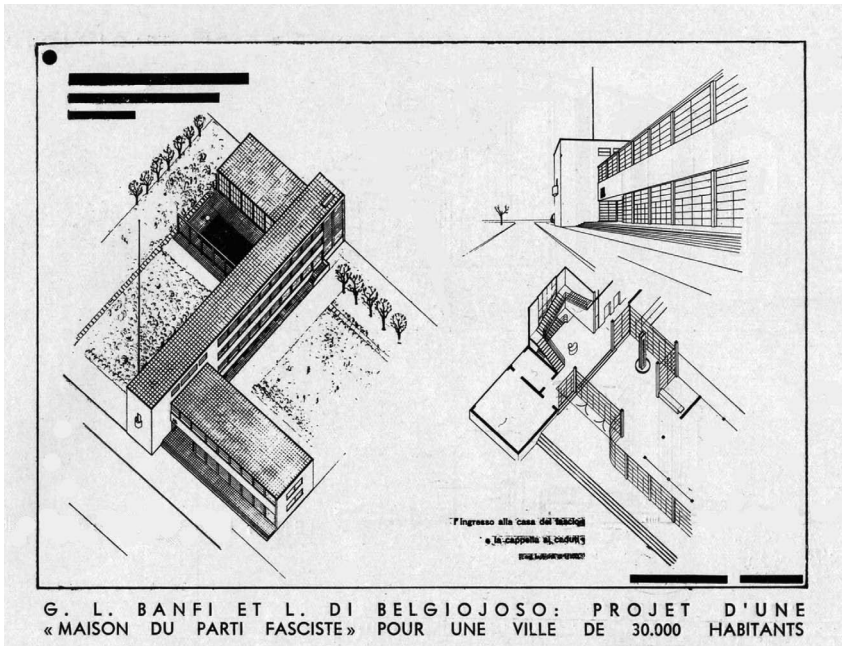


and modified according to the needs of the party and changing demographics. These headquarters began as very modest affairs, often a few rented rooms in an existing building, but became a significant feature of the party's mission to assert its authority and alter the social and political fabric of Italian life in fascism's second decade.

Shortly after being appointed head of the Fascist Party in 1931, Achille Starace, a former lieutenant in the Italian army and a leader within the fascist movement since the early 1920s, initiated a building campaign to ensure that every fascist group had an appropriately decorous headquarters from which to administer its programs and monitor local populations. In the first decade of fascist rule, party-controlled neighborhood groups had functioned as largely autonomous units and the size, appointments, and character of their headquarters varied widely according to their financial circumstances, political complexion, and social composition. For example, in Milan, the Baracca Group (backed by the wealthy Marquis Alfonso Cornaggia and Mussolini's influential brother Arnaldo, both of whom were members) built a neoclassically inspired *casa del fascio* designed by the respected local architect Paolo Mezzanotte in 1927. In contrast, persistent corruption and financial mismanagement inhibited the Mussolini Group (although it claimed Mussolini as one of its members) in its efforts to secure a dignified outpost in Milan throughout the 1920s.<sup>8</sup>

To facilitate the construction of new buildings, Starace established a centralized bureaucratic structure for securing property, gathering funds, and approving designs. Although these negotiations were always informed by local circumstances, the involvement of party officials in Rome and oversight by the highest-ranking local fascist official, the federal secretary, resulted in a substantially more coordinated approach to the appearance, program, and location of party headquarters in the second decade of fascist rule. Indicative of the reach of this capillary network, populous areas, especially those in Northern Italy, such as Milan (Federazione di Milan), eventually held 246 *case del fascio* and 33 neighborhood centers (*gruppi rionali*) while smaller cities such as Bologna (Federazione di Bologna) had 82 *case del fascio* and 24 neighborhood centers.<sup>9</sup>

In their design of *case del fascio*, architects were guided by nearly a decade of experience with this building type, and particular examples such as Terragni's building in Como and the strikingly modern winning designs by Gian Luigi Banfi, Ludovico Belgiojoso, Enrico Peressutti, and Ernesto Rogers, best known as the firm BBPR, for the *casa del fascio* competition held by the Bologna based party newspaper *L'Assalto* in 1932 (figure 9.2). The review of the competition published by *L'Assalto* provided a comprehensive study of this emblematic fascist building, and the winning projects submitted by Banfi and Belgiojoso and by Peressutti and Rogers offered a model for realizing the social and political missions that the party hoped would be fulfilled by their *case del fascio*.<sup>10</sup>



**Figure 9.2.** Gian Luigi Banfi and Ludovico Belgiojoso, project for a *casa del fascio* for a town of 30,000, 1932. *Casabella* 5 (June 1932): 20.

The spare vocabulary, low horizontal masses, and details such as floor-to-ceiling glass windows on the ground level of the winning entries met officials' expectations and appealed to the modernist sensibilities of the jurors, who praised Peressutti and Rogers's design for the "intimate simplicity of the exterior."<sup>11</sup> Specific features of the entries such as a projecting block-like tower and balcony (*arengario*) skillfully combined a modernist interest in elemental forms with historical examples of civic authority and made the buildings a distinct feature of the landscape.<sup>12</sup> The publication of the winning entries in the Milan-based architecture journal *Casabella* and in the French architectural periodical *L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui*, and a related exhibition (which included plans, sections, and elevations) at the Milan Polytechnic in 1933 made the competition results available to a wider audience.<sup>13</sup> The typological consistency advocated by the competition brief resonated with Party Secretary Starace's effort to create a coherent visual language for the party, and he issued a decree (never comprehensively enforced) that all new *case del fascio* should be equipped with bell towers in 1932.<sup>14</sup>

Located in Como, about an hour north of Milan, Terragni's celebrated Casa del Fascio (1932–36) also contributed to the growing consensus about the appropriate form and character of *case del fascio*. The regular grid of its reinforced

concrete frame and abundant use of glass evoked the forms, logic, and materials of rationalism and supported fascism's claim to be a force of change progressive. Its rank of floor-to-ceiling glass doors at the ground level also provided a poetic rendering of Mussolini's claim that "Fascism is a glass house into which all can look."<sup>15</sup> In a different vein, the speaking platform on the second story recalled spaces of presentation employed by civic and religious authorities, the use of travertine fostered associations with the city's (and nation's) most prestigious buildings, and the blank surface along the right face of the main façade evoked the towers found in Northern Italian medieval town halls (*broletto*), an example of which stands in the nearby Piazza del Duomo. Although such references fused images of power that were both local and national in character, the formal similarities between the open loggia of the building's façade and modest Italian farmhouses suggests an even more complex formal and symbolic layering.<sup>16</sup> It is also consistent with other rationalist architects' appropriation of vernacular motifs in order to reinforce connections between buildings and their context and as an alternative to the bourgeois pretensions of nineteenth-century historicism.<sup>17</sup> The focus of a special issue of the cultural journal *Quadrante*, which Terragni had helped to establish in 1933, the *Casa del Fascio* in Como, reached a generation of young architects who were eager to demonstrate that architectural modernism could function in the service of fascist politics.<sup>18</sup>

### Case del Fascio: Early 1930s

Following Starace's administrative reforms, Fascist Party headquarters increasingly shared formal elements—most notably a tower and speaking platform—that clarified their function as centers of political power and reinforced their connection to *case del fascio* elsewhere in Italy. However, the expression of these elements and other design choices (program, siting, materials) often drew on carefully selected local traditions, a design strategy that reinforced the party's claim to be an autochthonic movement.

The Mussolini Group headquarters (1936–37) in Milan designed by Mario Bacciocchi, to take one example, built, after years of failed attempts, for the working-class community located in the developing residential area around the Porta Nuova Station (now Garibaldi Station) affirmed the party's presence in this district (figure 9.3). The brick tower in the form of the Roman fasces (the symbol of the Fascist Party), requested by Mussolini after construction had begun, helped to make the otherwise unassuming four-story cubic building with distinctive feature of the broad tree-lined Via Ceresio and reinforced connections with other party buildings in Milan and throughout the nation. The low platform that runs nearly the full length of the building served as a rostrum where officials addressed crowds during rallies or other public events and further clarified the building's political function. The use of brick evoked the material language of the region's medieval and Renaissance past as well as the industrial and civic architecture that had begun to transform this district



**Figure 9.3.** Benito Mussolini Group headquarters, Mario Bacciocchi, Via Ceresio, Milan, 1936–7. *Rassegna di Architettura*, no. 9 (1938): 386.

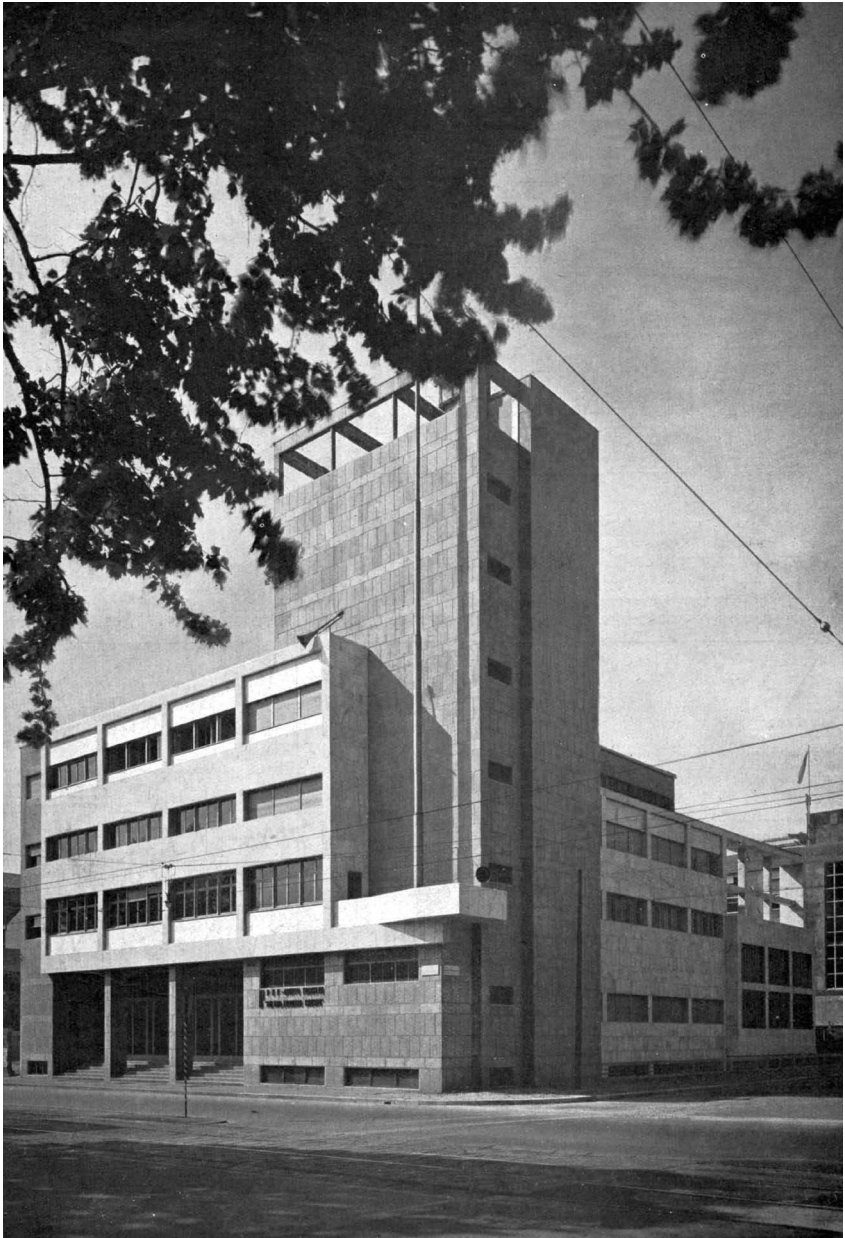
around the turn of the century.<sup>19</sup> In addition, the abstraction, asymmetry (the tower stands on the left side of the façade), and horizontality of the composition encouraged associations with avant-garde architecture. In this, and other similar examples, the incorporation of select historical and local references alongside avant-garde approaches to design reinforced fascism's legitimacy and its commitment to the modernization of Italy.

The building, as was typical of urban neighborhood party centers designed in the first half of the 1930s, accommodated a wide range of institutions and functions intended to shape the habits, customs, and traditions of the party's growing membership, a trend that was in part determined by the requirement, approved in 1933, that all public service officials be party members. The basement held a gymnasium (which could also be used as a cinema), a

dispensary, an armory, and offices and meeting rooms for fascist youth organizations (the Opera Nazionale Balilla and Fasci Giovanili), all activities that buttressed Starace's campaign to reach Italian youth. From the entrance atrium on the ground floor, members had access to a bar for socializing. A dining hall connected to the offices for the fascist Public Assistance Agency (Ente Opere Assistenziali, EOA) was intended to meet the needs of the five thousand people registered for assistance in the neighborhood.<sup>20</sup> The second story housed the most symbolically and organizationally important spaces in the building: offices for neighborhood party officials and, in a windowless curved room at the top of the stairs, the group's memorial chapel or *sacrario*, which commemorated the personal sacrifices made by party members during fascism's early revolutionary phase.<sup>21</sup> The upper stories provided additional office and meeting space for the afterwork leisure organization Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro (OND), Action Squad (Squadra d'Azione), Antiaircraft Militia (Milizia antiaerea) and other fascist groups as well as a spacious terrace for therapeutic sunbathing (*elioterapiche*). Changes in the party's structure and mission alongside shifts within the political landscape would diminish the role of these fascist outposts as centers of community life in the second half of the decade.

### ***Case del Fascio: Late 1930s***

The headquarters designed for the Crespi Group in Milan (1937–39) by a group of recent graduates from the Milan Politecnico, Gianni Angelini, Giuseppe Calderara, and Tito B. Varisco, evidences some of the ways in which *case del fascio* were adapted to address the character of individual groups as well as the vicissitudes of party life in the late 1930s (figure 9.4). This group drew its members from the well-established bourgeois community that occupied the elegant buildings lining the quiet tree-lined streets west of the Parco Sempione. In contrast to the industrial references favored for the Mussolini Group headquarters, the architects used the gridded stone façade to recall the sophisticated abstraction of Terragni's Casa del Fascio in Como and, in their choice of materials, Piero Portaluppi's recently completed provincial party headquarters or Sede Federale (1936–40) in central Milan. The ground floor accommodated paramilitary associations (including Vecchia Guardia, Squadra d'Azione, Corpo di Guardia, and Combattenti) as well as the group's mortuary chapel. The second story, as was customary, held offices for local officials. The fascist youth organization Gioventù Italiana del Littorio (GIL)—formerly the Opera Nazionale Balilla (ONB), renamed and restructured and placed under the authority of the Fascist Party, rather than the Ministry of National Education (Ministero dell'Educazione Nazionale) in 1937—occupied a significant portion of the remainder of the building: a second stair at the rear of the building provided access to a gymnasium as well as offices and facilities located on the second and third stories.<sup>22</sup>



**Figure 9.4.** P.E. Crespi Group headquarters, Gianni Angelini, Giuseppe Calderara, and Tito B. Varisco, Corso Sempione, Milan, 1937–9. *Costruzioni-Casabella* 149 (May 1940): 17.

The prominent placement of the party's paramilitary organizations and accommodation of the GIL, which had among its charges the preparation of Italian youth for combat, reinforced the party's role as "a civilian militia, following the orders of the Duce, at the service of the Fascist State," as specified by the party's statute in 1932; a designation that became central to the party's mission in the late 1930s. During this period, Italy was involved in armed conflicts in North Africa (Italy invaded Ethiopia in 1935) and Spain (Italy sent forces and supplies in support of Francisco Franco from 1936) and the military threat of Germany intensified. In response to these events and in an effort to prepare for war, the state directed additional funds to the GIL (especially between 1942 and 1943).<sup>23</sup> This influx of funds likely helped to fund new construction and made clear, alongside the elimination of spaces for socializing and informal gathering (a bar, library, or billiards room) or welfare assistance (the party disbanded the EOA in 1937) the transformation of the party's role as a center for political education and indoctrination into an organization of command and control dedicated to preparing Italy for war.

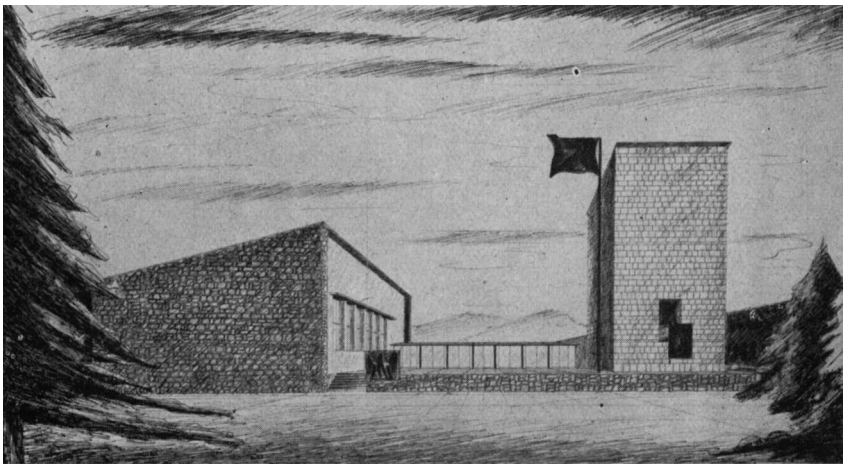
In this same period, party leaders encouraged the construction of new Fascist Party headquarters overseas, along the nation's northern borders, and other areas remote from already established centers of command to strengthen its reach and, as Diane Ghirardo has suggested, to serve as part of the nation's defense infrastructure.<sup>24</sup> As part of this effort, officials held competitions for *case del fascio* appropriate for three generically described topographical (rather than regional) conditions: plains, hills, and mountains ("località di pianura, collina e montagna") with the aim of providing local communities templates from which they, with minimal expense, could construct outposts.<sup>25</sup> Winning competition entries typically featured modest single story buildings arranged to frame a terrace or other outdoor space that could be used for party rallies, ceremonies, or athletic events. Free-standing towers or *torre littoria* ("as prescribed by the national director of the party") with a mortuary chapel or *sacratio* at their base and iconographic references to fascism (typically the fasces and a perched eagle [*aquila*], a symbol like that of the fasces that reinforced connections to ancient Rome) clarified their political function.<sup>26</sup> Formal elements, including the tower as well as low arches (*arco ribassato*), featured in many competition entries, encouraged associations with Italian civic architecture from the late middle ages or early Renaissance.<sup>27</sup>

Local materials and building technologies helped to keep costs low, took advantage of established building practices, and complied with the mandate to avoid the use of iron, steel, and other materials that were in short supply after 1935, the year the League of Nations imposed economic sanctions on Italy for its invasion of Ethiopia. The majority of the participating architects were, as a contemporary account of the competition explained, "young . . . very young" and this together with the simple forms, asymmetrical compositions, and minimal ornament found in the majority of the winning entries provided evidence

of how these architects sought to negotiate the often competing demands of monumentality and modernism within the strictures of the fascist regime.<sup>28</sup>

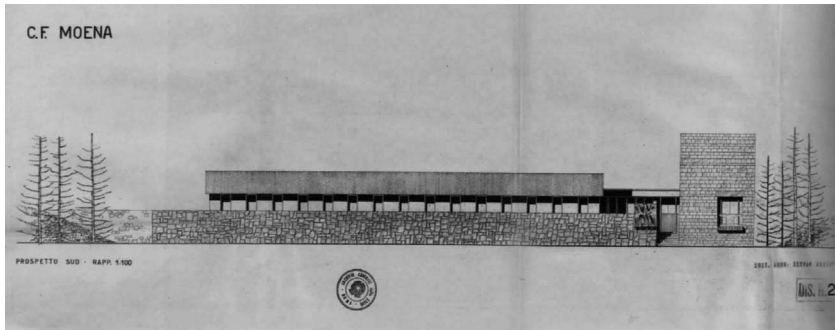
The year after winning a prize, with Fernando Puccioni, for a *casa del fascio* in a mountain setting (1941), Sergio Mezzina received the commission to design a *casa del fascio* for Moena, a small town southeast of Bolzano located in the province of Trentino-Alto Adige.<sup>29</sup> Mezzina and Puccioni's competition project featured two distinct buildings—one dedicated to a gymnasium and theater and the other party offices and meeting rooms—facing each other across a broad elevated terrace and joined by a low loggia that held a mortuary chapel (figure 9.5). The use of rusticated stone along the edge of the platform, the exterior wall of the gymnasium/theater, and for the tower, which was incorporated into the block holding offices for party officials, implied the use of locally sourced materials and vernacular building traditions. The slope of the roof sheltering the gymnasium/theater echoed the visual drama of a mountainous landscape and helped to balance the composition (the angle meets in the tower on the far side of the open terrace). The ideas explored here, especially the use of vernacular elements to imbue the project with a sense of dignity and permanence (and at the same time reinforce its marginal position within the national hierarchy), would serve as a foundation for his more fully developed project in Moena.

For the *casa del fascio* in Moena (projected in 1942 but never realized) Mezzina specified the use of local rusticated stones (*pietrame*) for the elevated base, reached by a low set of stairs set next to the *torre littoria* (figure 9.6). On this he positioned the various components of the project. These were



**Figure 9.5.** Sergio Mezzina and Fernando Puccioni, *Casa del fascio per comuni rurali di media importanza*, Montagna, primo premio ex-aequo, 1941. *Architettura*, XX (September 1942): 307.

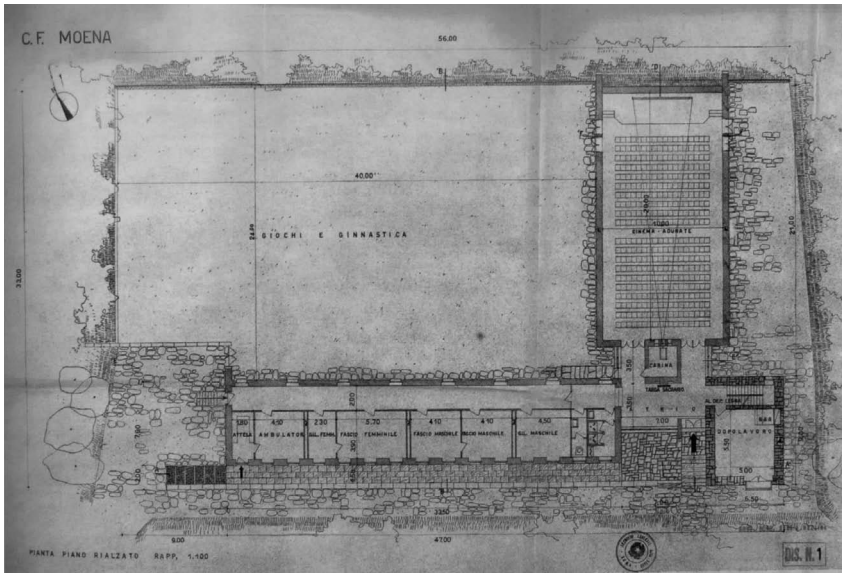




**Figure 9.6.** Mezzina, elevation, Casa del Fascio, Moena (Trento), 1942. Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Partito Nazionale Fascista, Servizi Varie, Serie II, b. 1607.

a large hall for meetings and for showing films and a one-story horizontal bar that held offices for local party organizations capped by a tall cornice (figure 9.7). The entrance atrium, which had a simple *sacrario*, joined the office and theater and provided access to the *torre littoria*, which held the local *dopolavoro* and provided access to a roof top terrace for “enjoying the view.”<sup>30</sup> The resulting L-shaped building block framed an open paved area for, as the plan indicates, “games and gymnastics” but could also be employed for other collective enterprises such as rallies, demonstrations, and ritual ceremonies. The six offices, organized in single file and each with its own entrance off of a shared hall, accommodated various sections of the party-controlled fascist youth organizations (GIL Femminile and GIL Maschile) as well as space for the fascist women’s and men’s groups (the Fascio Femminile and Fascio Maschile). Notably, the complex did not include the informal spaces for socializing (such as a bar, game room, and library) or social services (although some would include a medical clinic [*ambulatorio*]) that had earlier featured prominently in neighborhood outposts as well as in party headquarters for cities too small to have neighborhood circles.<sup>31</sup>

Accessible primarily through a narrow set of stairs carved out of the plinth and bounded on one side by the weighty block of the *torre littoria*, Mezzina’s design departed from the transparency and openness that had been central to Terragni’s symbolic intentions in Como and the rhetoric surrounding Fascist Party headquarters throughout much of the 1930s. Mezzina’s *casa del fascio*, with its elevated position, line of windows sheltered by a projecting horizontal cornice, and tower has the quality of a defensible fortification. Other buildings proposed for the region show a similar sensibility. For example, the façade of the Casa del Fascio in Ziano (Trento, 1943) by Giuseppe Meccoli was to be pierced only by occasional openings and was to be fronted by a free-standing speaking rostrum in rough stone attached to a *torre littoria* of the same material by a narrow bridge.



**Figure 9.7.** Mezzina, plan, Casa del Fascio, Moena (Trento), 1942. Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Partito Nazionale Fascista, Servizi Varie, Serie II, b. 1607.

The formal characteristics of these buildings can in part be understood as a response to the militant tenor that pervaded the party's bureaucracy and its operations, as defined by Starace. Indeed the party secretaries appointed after Mussolini removed Starace from office, Ettore Muti (October 1939–October 1940), Adelchi Serena (October 1940–November 1941), Aldo Vidussoni (December 1941–April 1943), Carlo Scorza (April–July 1943), never provided a compelling alternative, and the party was crippled by internal corruption and competition as it struggled to resolve the pressures that resulted from dueling strains within fascism: to control and govern the masses on the one hand and to realize the promise of revolutionary fascism on the other.<sup>32</sup> They can also be understood as polemics within contemporary debates about the limits of classicism to express an authentic monumentality, especially in regions remote from Rome, and the search for other forms of expression in which vernacular architecture could alternately be used to invoke authenticity and notions of origins (as in the work of Terragni) or rational methods of building (as in the work of Giuseppe Pagano).<sup>33</sup> In this context, Giovanni Astengo, Cesare Bairati, and Ada Bursi's project for the Casa del Fascio in Baselga di Pine (Trento), a low and unassuming structure of rough local stone, wood, and glass (figure 9.8) with an adjacent tower, published in the *Casabella* provides an alternative to the more imposing models offered by Meccoli and Mezzina and demonstrates a diversity of attitudes toward the ways in which vernacular traditions might be employed in contemporary fascist architecture, a subject



**Figure 9.8.** Giovanni Astengo, Cesare Bairati, and Ada Bursi, Project for Casa del Fascio in Basiglio di Pine (Trento), 1943. *Costruzioni–Casabella* 183 (March 1943): 22.

tackled by leading architects (including the editor of *Casabella* Pagano), designers, cultural leaders, and high-ranking fascist officials during the Fourth Congress for Popular Arts and Traditions (IV Congresso nazionale di arti e tradizioni popolari) held in 1940.<sup>34</sup>

The approach used by the designers of the *case del fascio* discussed earlier is representative of the party's effort to establish a coherent visual language for its outposts and, at the same time, respond to local conditions in order to present the party as a national organization and as a legitimate authority within communities shaped by very different economic, cultural, and social histories. More specifically, these examples provide evidence of the ways in which architects shaped by modernism used references to vernacular traditions to give symbolic form to the buildings and spaces tied to fascist rule and command. In the postwar period, architects and critics drew attention to design concerns such as site, context, climate, and landscape, as the foundation for the postwar reconstruction of Italy. For many this approach offered an alternative to the architectural and planning initiatives sponsored with the Fascist regime, which were now associated with monumental neoclassicism and geometrical order. Further it served as evidence of the rejection of nearly twenty years of fascist rule. Although much of this history has been traced through the many housing initiatives pursued in the postwar period, especially those overseen by Ina-casa, the connections between vernacular traditions and the expression of political power in the fascist period remains largely unexplored.<sup>35</sup> These modest but nevertheless imposing architectures draw together currents of discourse and practice in the interwar and postwar periods that allow for a more complex understanding of interwar modernism and its legacy.

Notes

1. "Generazioni nate e maturate nel solco lasciato e segnato dagli Eroi scomparsi." a.c.r., "Una Villa a Merate—Il Palazzo dei Fasci e un casa di abitazione a Milano," *Rassegna di Architettura* 10 (1940): 303.
2. For Diane Ghirardo's analysis of the references to late medieval town halls in the design of Fascist Party headquarters, see "Architecture and the State: Fascist Italy and New Deal America" (PhD diss., Stanford University, 1982), 47–91, as well as later articles including "Terragni, conventions, and the critics," in *Critical Architecture and Contemporary Culture*, eds. William J. Lillyman, Marilyn F. Moriarty, and David J. Neuman (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 93–96.
3. Richard Etlin, "Rationalist Architecture: A Contextual Avant-Garde," in *Modernism in Italian Architecture, 1890–1940* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991), 254–328. Michelangelo Sabatino has written extensively on the vernacular tradition in modern Italian architecture. Sabatino, *Pride in Modesty: Modernist Architecture and the Vernacular Tradition in Italy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010). See also the earlier "Back to the Drawing Board?: Revisiting the Vernacular Tradition in Italian Modern Architecture," *Annali di Architettura: Rivista del centro internazionale di studi di architettura Andrea Palladio* 16 (2004): 169–85.
4. Diane Ghirardo, "Italian Architects and Fascist Politics: An Evaluation of the Rationalist's Role in Regime Building," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 39, no. 2 (1980): 109–27.
5. For a more detailed discussion of *case del fascio* in Milan; see Lucy M. Maulsby, "Respectable Fascism: Fascist Party Headquarters, 1922–1931," and "Urban Networks: Fascist Party Headquarters, 1931–1940," *Architecture and the Claiming of Modern Milan, 1922–1943* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014), 38–63 and 106–34.
6. Vitorio Vidotto, "Palazzi e Sacrari: Il declino del culto littorio," *Roma Moderna e Contemporanea* 11, no. 3. (2003): 583–99.
7. For an overview of the social and political function of Fascist Party headquarters, particularly as they relate to nineteenth-century political and reform movements, see Franco Biscossa, "Dalla Casa el Popolo alla Casa del Fascio" in *Case del Popolo: Un architettura monumentale del moderno*, ed. Marco De Michelis (Venice: Marsilio, 1986), 175–224.
8. "Il Gruppo Mussolini avrà una nuova sede," *Il Popolo d'Italia*, May 17, 1936. Memorandum, September 11, 1934. Archivio Centrale dello Stato (ACS), Partito Nazionale Fascista (PNF), Servizi Varie, Serie II, b. 1199, f. 88. Marinelli to Parenti, April 26, 1934. ACS, PNF, Servizi Varie, Serie II, b. 1201, f. 106.
9. Flavio Mangione, *Le Case del Fascio in Italia e nelle terre d'oltremare* (Rome: Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali, 2003) 303, 191.
10. Carlo Savoia, "La Casa del Fascio," *L'Assalto*, May 21, 1932.
11. "L'intima semplicità degli esterni." "Il Littoriale di Architettura e la Relazione della Giuria," *L'Assalto*, May 26, 1932.
12. Diane Ghirardo, "Terragni, Conventions, and the Critics," 93–96.
13. P. M. Bardi, "Nouvelles Tendances dans les Écoles d'architecture Italiennes," *L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui* 10 (December–January 1933): 95. Costruzioni-Casabella [pseudo.], "La Nuova sede del Gruppo Crespi a Milano," *Costruzioni-Casabella* 149 (1940): 16–23.

14. Emilio Gentile, "Fascism as Political Religion," *Journal of Contemporary History* 25 (May–June 1990): 240.
15. "Il fascismo è una casa di vetro in cui tutti possono guardare." Giuseppe Terragni, "La Costruzione della Casa del Fascio di Como," *Quadrante* no. 35–36 (October 1936; repr., Como: Tipografia Editrice Cesare Nani, 1994): 6. Terragni took these words from Mussolini's address to party leaders in Milan in July 1929 following the scandals of 1928. Renzo De Felice, *Mussolini il Duce: Gli Anni del consenso, 1929–36* (Turin: Einaudi), 203.
16. Etlin, *Modernism in Italian Architecture*, 471.
17. Sabatino, "Back to the Drawing Board?," 169.
18. See David Rifkind, "'Fascist, Limpid and Naked Like the Truth': The Casa del Fascio," in *The Battle for Modernism: Quadrante and the Politization of Architectural Discourse in Fascist Italy* (Marsilio: Centro Internazionale di Studi di Architettura Andrea Palladio, 2012), 169–202.
19. The work of Milanese architect Giovanni Muzio also served as a point of departure for Bacchiocchi's work. For Muzio see Fluvio Irace, *Giovanni Muzio, 1893–1982* (Milan: Electa, 1994).
20. The EOA, established in 1931, oversaw fascist groups' administration and distribution of aid. David G. Horn, "L'Ente opere assistenziali: strategie politiche e pratiche di assistenza," in *Il Fascismo in Lombardia: Politica, economia e società*, ed. M. L. Betri, A. DeBernardi, and I. Granata (Milan: Angeli, 1989), 480–486. From its facilities in the Mussolini Group headquarters the organization served about 200 meals per day in 1937. "Gruppo Mussolini," *Il Popolo d'Italia*, January 7, 1937.
21. Bacciocchi's placement of the *sacrario* on the second floor was unusual. With the exception of the contemporary refurbishment of the Palazzo Odescalchi for the powerful Sciesa Group, all *case del fascio* in Milan for which plans remain located the mortuary chapel near the main entrance.
22. "La Sede del Gruppo Rionale Fascista 'P.E. Crespi,' a Milano," *Architettura* 20 (September–October 1941): 380.
23. Niccolò Zapponi, "Il partito del gioventù. Le organizzazioni giovanili del fascismo, 1926–1943." *Storia Contemporanea*, XIII, n. 4/5 (October 1982): 572.
24. Renzo de Felice, *Mussolini: L'alleato, 1940–1945*, Vol. 1. Pt. 2 (Turin: Einaudi, 1990), 968. Ghirardo, "Architecture and the State: Fascist Italy and New Deal America," 88. Competitions were held in 1939 and again in 1941.
25. Giulio Roisecco, "Concorso nazionale per progetti tipo di edificio da destinarsi a case del fascio in centri rurali e di confine di media e piccola importanza," *Architettura*, (September 1942): 300.
26. Relazione ai progetti per Case del Fascio nei piccoli comuni dell'entroterra e Riviera ligure (Genova), 1939, Greco Nardi and Lorenzo Castello, ACS, PNF, Serie II, busta 1097. Reproduced in Mangione, *Le Case del Fascio*, 77.
27. Giulio Roisecco, "Concorso nazionale," *Architettura*, (September 1942): 310.
28. "I giovani, . . . e soprattutto i giovanissimi." Roisecco, 310.
29. These include a projected Casa del Fascio in Margherita di Savioa and in Vitorchiano, both of 1942.
30. "Godere il panorama," Relazione, February 28, 1942, ACS, PNF, Serie II, busta 1607, reproduced in Mangione, *Le Case del Fascio*, 438.

31. Paolo Portoghesi, Flavio Mangione, and Andrea Soffitta, *L'Architettura delle Case del Fascio* (Florence: Alinea, 2006), 165.
32. Emilio Gentile, "The Problem of the Party in Italian Fascism," *Journal of Contemporary History*, 19:2 (April 1984): 271.
33. Michelangelo Sabatino has carefully traced these debates in interwar theory and practice in *Pride in Modesty*; see especially Chapter 4 "Engineering versus Architecture," 131.
34. S. B. "Casa Littoria di Pine," *Costruzioni-Casabella* 183 (March 1943) 21–25. Sabatino, *Pride in Modesty*, 137.
35. See Stephanie Pilat, *Reconstructing Italy: The Ina-Casa neighborhoods of the Postwar Era* (London: Ashgate, 2014).



# Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

# Zoning and the Controlled Space of Modernity

*Matthew Heins*

## **The Organizational Systems of Modernity**

The condition of modernity aspires to be inherently rational—or at least rationalizing—in numerous ways, and modern existence is marked by a plethora of systems for classifying, regulating, standardizing, and controlling the world and its people. Such organizational schemes are linked to the way human society has increasingly functioned over the past two centuries. One of the key tools used to classify, organize, and control the territory of human settlement—cities, suburbs, and towns—is the practice of zoning, which exerts great influence over land and the buildings on it. It is a fundamental and powerful part of the way we structure the built environment, and of how our cities are shaped and reshaped. This is evident at a mundane everyday level to those in urban planning and related fields like architecture and real estate who deal with zoning constantly and often find themselves entangled in its intricacies. In local politics zoning frequently looms large. Yet there have been surprisingly few scholarly efforts to consider zoning in a broader or deeper sense, to plumb its historical and theoretical significance. Zoning is modernity's one of the many projects to organize, control, and discipline the people, resources, and built environment of the world. An example of how the modern nation-state orders its territory, zoning applies precise classifications that govern what takes place in particular neighborhoods and on specific plots of land. In this way the state serves its own interests, and also those of the capitalist market that prefers land be an abstract and predictable commodity possessing monetary value.

In linking zoning to the organizational systems of the modern state, my argument draws on James Scott's outstanding book *Seeing Like a State* that describes how the state has successfully worked to order, control, abstract, and organize the things and people under its purview.<sup>1</sup> While much of the book narrates cases of disastrous state overreach, in the opening chapters Scott emphasizes that the state also does such tasks routinely and very effectively,



and cites a slew of examples including mapping, forestry, taxation, conscription, and naming. Here I extend Scott's thesis to zoning (a topic he does not discuss, even though he devotes a chapter to the problems of modernist urban planning). Scott is distinctive in his focus on the real-world instrumentality of these tools of modernity, though he does not neglect their theoretical implications. Others have written perceptively about the rational devices and systems of modernity from a more ideologically attuned viewpoint, seeking to comprehend the ideals and assumptions they reflect. Perhaps the preeminent example is Michel Foucault, whose writings on power were so path-breaking; one of his most celebrated books, *Discipline and Punish*, explores a range of spatial settings associated with prisons and institutions of reform, most notably the Panopticon.<sup>2</sup> Timothy Mitchell's work on colonial and twentieth-century Egypt examines the tools of governance, expertise, economics, and power in a similar fashion.<sup>3</sup> In the realm of urbanism there is Christine Boyer's *Dreaming the Rational City*, which discusses the rationalistic ideologies and assumptions of urban planning.<sup>4</sup> Such works are fascinating and insightful, and have influenced my own thinking, but my account here takes a more instrumental approach to explore what zoning actually does in the world.

An inability to know and organize the particulars of people, resources, and things within its borders was a key weakness of the premodern state. In place of such detailed mastery the state before modernity relied on bonds of power, obligation, and loyalty that extended upward and downward. In medieval feudalism, for instance, the theoretical absolute power of the king was exerted through his nobles, who rode herd over their own lords, who in turn might have actual contact with events on the ground. The results were effective but not systematic, and often despotic as well. The modern state by contrast usually limits the arbitrary nature of its power through the rule of law, and often democratic procedures as well, but possesses a vastly greater knowledge, control, and organizational capacity, all of which the scholar Michael Mann terms "infrastructural power."<sup>5</sup> Zoning is an example of the modern state's enhanced organizational skills.

The practice of zoning differs from earlier customs and traditions of organizing land use, buildings, and urban development, but the objectives are similar. Cities have long restricted especially harmful or unpleasant uses. In medieval Europe, for example, tanners were typically forced to the urban fringe due to the intense odors generated by their work. Likewise cities enforced limits on the dimensions and even aesthetics of buildings. In tightly crowded medieval cities, regulations were often imposed to prevent the upper levels of buildings from jutting too far over the street and limiting light and air below. Numerous other premodern customs and laws accomplished many of the tasks zoning would later carry out—restricting use, limiting building dimensions, and shaping other urban qualities.<sup>6</sup> Long-standing customs could slowly transition into law, as with the doctrine of "ancient lights," a part of English common law

that prohibited new buildings from substantially diminishing the natural light received by windows in adjacent existing buildings.<sup>7</sup> For those living without electric lighting the importance of this rule was evident.

These precursors to zoning, though nuanced and flexible, were not systematic in nature. Customs and traditions might change or become outmoded, while laws were enacted on a somewhat *ad hoc* basis. There is a fundamental difference between such practices and modern zoning codes, which are characterized by a systematic and organized approach that abstracts and classifies the real world through regulatory frameworks. In a world of capitalism and government bureaucracy, as had developed by the late nineteenth century in most of Europe and North America, customary practices gave way to the new, more organized schemes. Furthermore, there was a need for a more comprehensive approach—not just traditions to control building height in one place or restrict negative uses elsewhere, but a set of regulations covering every piece of land in an entire metropolis.

This transition from customs embedded in community and social practices to the formal regulatory system of zoning parallels the shift from traditional life to modern urbanized and industrialized existence. Over the course of the nineteenth century the extraordinary capabilities of the technologies associated with the industrial revolution were shaped and more fully realized through what James Beniger terms a “control revolution” of informational, organizational, and bureaucratic advances, a trend that has continued to the present.<sup>8</sup> The railroad companies were especially pivotal in this transformation, as they developed a host of standardized practices, created the time zones (originally known as “railroad time”), made their employees wear uniforms, pioneered modern accounting techniques, and carried out numerous other innovations. In the early decades of the twentieth century the assembly line, pioneered by Henry Ford and his management team, represented a revolutionary advance in manufacturing goods through a highly organized and regimented approach that exploited industrial technology to the fullest. The assembly line also utilized the “American System” of standardized parts that had emerged during the nineteenth century. The practice of Taylorism (also known as “scientific management”), developed around the turn of the century, sought to make the individual worker fit into such novel systems—to make even people act more like machines.<sup>9</sup> The power and capacity of the state were also enlarged in this period, as it developed the means to regulate, monitor, and control its people and territory to an extent not previously possible, thanks to advances in bureaucracy, management, mapping, and other informational techniques.

Max Weber sees modernity as characterized by rationalistic procedures, regulations, and systems, carried out by machine-like bureaucracies that valorize knowledge, in which human relations and emotions are no longer decisive. The power structures of “traditional” societies and governments, imbued with personal relationships (for better or worse), are cast aside. While Weber’s

grim vision of the disenchantment and “iron cage” of modern life is surely too one-sided, he puts his finger on some of its deeper truths. Furthermore, he understands that the emergence of this new world of administrative bureaucracies and rationalizing organizations was linked to the industrial revolution: “The primary source of the superiority of bureaucratic administration lies in the role of technical knowledge which, through the development of modern technology and business methods in the production of goods, has become completely indispensable.”<sup>10</sup>

Systematic and highly organized administrative bureaucracies and legal frameworks do not, of course, eliminate the role of social dynamics, cultural factors, and personal relationships. The work of scholars like Michel Foucault, Timothy Mitchell, and Christine Boyer, as already noted, illuminates the ideological undercurrents present in these systems. The day-to-day process of running such bureaucracies and managerial systems also becomes enmeshed in sociopolitical realities and acquires its own rituals; Matthew Hull’s book *Government of Paper* provides a thorough account, from an anthropological and material perspective, of how this plays out in the municipal administration of Islamabad, Pakistan.<sup>11</sup> (Keeping such factors in mind, I frequently refer to modernity’s organizational and bureaucratic systems as “rationalizing” or “rationalistic,” to indicate that they aspire to a rational or logical condition but do not necessarily achieve it, and that the concept of rationality is a key part of their ideology.) Nevertheless, there has clearly been a fundamental shift in how state power is exerted, due to the rise of bureaucratic, well-organized, and information-based techniques of governance characteristic of modernity.

This rationalizing and organizational power of the modern nation-state is by no means opposed to the capitalist “free market”—on the contrary, the state does not simply regulate the market but constructs and shapes it. Corporations stand to gain from many of the state’s organizational schemes, which help create the playing field upon which capitalism’s activities can unfold. The implementation of uniform measures is a historical example. As long as commerce was primarily local in nature, merchants had little incentive to agree on universally standard measures. (Indeed, for some merchants it was an advantage to have varying measures, as they could exploit the confusion for their own profit when handling exchanges between faraway places.) Growing long-distance trade altered the equation, for now merchants needed uniform measures that would facilitate their commerce.<sup>12</sup> Aware of this, the French state in imposing the metric system after the French Revolution sought to boost not only bureaucratic efficiency and state power (along with less tangible Enlightenment aspirations), but economic growth as well: “The metric system was at once a means of administrative centralization, commercial reform, and cultural progress.”<sup>13</sup> Only the state can create and maintain the varied organizational systems necessary for capitalism such as uniform measures, property ownership, infrastructural networks, law enforcement, the sanctity of contracts,

the administration of justice, and a common currency. Businesspeople and corporations, no matter how dominant they may be in other realms, lack the power, authority, and legitimacy to put any of these in place, and so the state occupies a vital role. Yet this does not mean it is merely under the thumb of capital, as some dogmatic Marxists and radicals would have it—the state may serve business, its citizens, or its own interests, depending on the situation, and most often it accommodates all three to some degree.

### The Creation of Zoning

In his book *Building Gotham* Keith Revell argues that zoning, along with several other new systems and practices that developed in the early twentieth century, represented a way of handling the unprecedented interdependence of modern urban life through state power. This was in contrast, he points out, to the more *laissez-faire* attitudes of the nineteenth century, which were increasingly resulting in chaos, exploitation, inefficiency, and other problems. Revell explains how the changes—carried out by experts, reformers, planners, engineers, and bureaucrats—were necessary because interdependence was a growing part of modern urbanism, and so active governmental or institutional engagement was needed to guide this tangle of interwoven activities.<sup>14</sup> In the larger sense interdependence has always characterized urban life—and for that matter human existence in any setting—but traditional ways of handling interdependence through various social practices and customs were no longer workable by the end of the nineteenth century. Instead the task had to be accomplished in a highly rationalized manner, through the bureaucracies, standards, regulations, and other systems of the nation-state. Such tools are more distant and impersonal than earlier methods, but are thoroughly in sync with modernity and possess their own remarkable capacity to structure the world.

Zoning is an exemplary instance of the state's organizational capacity to create a rationalized system that controls and guides the actions of individuals, corporations, and institutions. However, zoning in turn depends on the prior existence of a deeply powerful way of abstracting land: the concept of property ownership, with its defined boundaries and legal rights. Assigning the exclusive control of land to a specific individual, company, or institution, and making it an interchangeable commodity that can be bought and sold freely, is a surprisingly recent phenomenon that essentially originated in the sixteenth century. Indeed, until the nineteenth century most land was still held in varied communal arrangements, or in a feudal fashion of rights and responsibilities. The modern state played a key role in this shift, as it served to confer legitimacy to the ownership of property, and to recognize and enforce it in a legal framework. This in turn made capital-driven markets in land possible.<sup>15</sup> As one historian points out, "part of the nation-state's credibility rests with its guarantee of predictable and stable private property rights in land."<sup>16</sup> Such systems of property ownership depend on accurate methods of

cartography, a key technological and administrative innovation in its own right that is vital to governing.<sup>17</sup> The combination of private property, territorial expansion, and reliable mapping led to distinctively American gridded schemes to subdivide land for private ownership, such as the Northwest Ordinances of 1784–1787, which organized land ownership in much of the Midwest, and the Commissioners' Plan of 1811 that laid out the blocks of most of Manhattan.

During the nineteenth century many cities in Europe and North America grew explosively, driven by the transformations of the industrial revolution, but as the century wore on, their dynamism was increasingly compromised by their chaotic functioning and deplorable quality of life. It seemed apparent that better methods to organize and regulate them were needed. One such device was zoning, which likely first appeared in Germany. Near the end of the nineteenth century, German cities were expanding and industrializing with extraordinary speed, generating all sorts of challenges and problems. Perhaps the Germans were more inclined to collective and well-organized solutions. In any event, they were willing to pursue a systematic way of handling urbanization, and the emerging discipline of urban planning was the ideal vehicle through which to do so.

The roots of German zoning go back to the 1860s, when cities were granted the power to designate certain areas for single-family housing and to ban factories from them. A few German metropolises in the 1870s and 1880s chose to do so.<sup>18</sup> It appears that the first true zoning was implemented in Frankfurt in 1891 as part of a new building ordinance; the regulations created an extensive set of zones that covered most of the city, except the central area that was already built out, with particular emphasis on the rapidly developing periphery. Berlin followed a year later with zones (actually imposed not by the city, but the federal government) that covered its entire suburban region, and over the next few years more cities adopted zoning.<sup>19</sup> These early German codes regulated many of the issues that would come to be widely associated with zoning: land use (especially keeping industry out of upscale residential areas), building height, the building's overall form, and how much of the plot of land the building footprint covered.

Planning is in its own right a rationalizing approach to shaping and governing the city, as it applies logical thought to urban issues and invariably uses statistics, maps, and other quantitative, precise, and rational tools. It is a discipline that aspires to be scientific, and this was especially the case in its early years. In 1913, an article in the magazine *The American City*, titled "Efficiency in City Planning," stated that "the principles of modern industrial efficiency, of 'Taylorizing' are now being applied to city planning," and added that "this method of work, systematized, standardized, 'Taylorized,' as it is, has most decidedly proved its worth."<sup>20</sup> Comparisons were also made to engineering, as in the same year the prominent planner George Ford proclaimed that "city planning is rapidly becoming as definite a science as pure engineering."<sup>21</sup>

In the early twentieth century the concept of zoning was increasingly in the air, and Germany's leadership in the newly invented field of urban planning was recognized by others who sought to emulate its cities, at least in this regard.<sup>22</sup> The French architect and urbanist Tony Garnier notably used zoning in his celebrated *Cité Industrielle* of 1904, a hypothetical and somewhat utopian vision of a future city that was radical for its time and would prove influential. Poor and chaotic conditions in cities in the United States confirmed the need for planning, and hence for zoning, in that country also. American reformers of the nineteenth century had campaigned vigorously against the urban ills of the time, but generally did not envision the sort of systematic transformation, achieved through organizational and regulatory innovations like zoning, that planners now aimed to put in place. With regard to land use, in fact, the United States during the early and mid-nineteenth century had jettisoned most of the restraints embedded in common law it inherited from England (including the aforementioned "ancient lights" principle), shifting to a *laissez-faire* approach seen as better suited to real estate speculation and dynamic change.<sup>23</sup>

American reformers and government leaders started to implement new regulatory and bureaucratic tools. A series of building codes were introduced to reform New York City's horrific and overcrowded tenement buildings. This began with the Tenement House Acts of 1867 and 1879, but even as these addressed existing problems they led to new ones, especially in the notorious "dumbbell" tenement building typology that arose after 1879. It was the Tenement House Act of 1901 that finally brought about reasonably humane, safe, and sanitary living conditions for the residents of the city.<sup>24</sup> Other municipalities took similar measures through building codes of their own. During the same period American cities instituted height limits on buildings, which could be focused on particular neighborhoods or uniformly applied. In the 1890s, Boston innovated with height limit legislation, and the practice quickly spread to other cities, including Washington, DC, which in 1899 put in place the first version of its strict limits.<sup>25</sup>

A precursor to zoning, known as "districting" or "use districting," developed soon after. Through districting, regulation certain areas (termed "use districts") were designated for specified uses, or else particular uses were barred from the areas. Originating in California—a Los Angeles ordinance of 1908 is sometimes identified as the first example—the practice spread to other parts of the country in the 1910s.<sup>26</sup> Districting typically covered particular areas rather than an entire metropolis and only governed land use, ignoring spatial characteristics like building heights, setbacks, and aesthetics. In its scope and ambitions, therefore, districting did not represent comprehensive planning in the same way zoning does, but it was a step in that direction.

A watershed moment for zoning and planning in the United States came in New York City in 1916, with what is widely regarded as the most memorable example of American zoning. After several years of study, strategizing, and

planning, the city instituted a new and extraordinary zoning code that applied to every property in its five boroughs. The ordinance was motivated largely by the priorities of businesspeople, developers, and landowners. In Manhattan, upscale retailers wished to prevent garment manufacturers and sweatshops from locating nearby, while corporate property owners were concerned new and higher skyscrapers would overshadow their own buildings. Developers and residents in suburban boroughs wanted to forestall undesirable uses—not only factories, but also apartment buildings—that would lower property values and undermine the prestige of their neighborhoods. But the new regulations were also driven by humanitarian and civic-minded concerns, such as the way tall skyscrapers cut off light and air from the street, and the health dangers posed by industrial facilities. The code is most celebrated, at least in architectural history, for how in denser areas its setback regulations were progressively more stringent at greater heights, resulting in the characteristic ziggurat or “wedding cake” form of Manhattan skyscrapers in the 1920s and 1930s like the Chrysler Building and Empire State Building. But zoning’s impact was felt in diverse ways across the city; even as it shaped high-rise development in downtown and midtown Manhattan, it facilitated the creation of low-rise neighborhoods of housing in much of Brooklyn and Queens. The new regulations affected land use powerfully, restricting some areas to residential development while making provision for commerce and industry in others.<sup>27</sup>

Zoning caught on in the United States with a rapidity that revealed the need—and desire—for the array of land use and building controls only it could offer. By 1917, only a year after New York broke the ice, over twenty American cities had zoning codes in place, and by 1926 this was the case for approximately five hundred municipalities.<sup>28</sup> As zoning spread, however, planning’s claim to disinterested expertise grew less credible. The original New York ordinance stemmed in part from the self-interest of various actors, to be sure, but it was comprehensive in its approach and reflected a genuine concern for the urban quality of life. In other municipalities, more cynical political and social factors sometimes dominated, and often the motives of racial, ethnic, or class-based exclusion were all too evident. Such zoning was blatant in its intent, oriented to advance an agenda rather than being linked to the public good in any clear way, and consequently was seen as legally more vulnerable. Some of the planners who had originally promoted zoning were critical of these codes, which they labeled “piecemeal” or “freak” zoning, but in truth the difference was merely one of degree.<sup>29</sup> Once zoning became a legitimate tool of state power, it was inevitable that residents (especially those who voted), real estate interests, and other power brokers would influence how it was applied. This rationalistic tool could be used in all sorts of ways, and for purposes that were—at least from the planners’ point of view—seemingly irrational.

### Zoning's Enduring Presence

The Supreme Court's momentous 1926 decision in the case of *Village of Euclid v. Ambler Realty Co.* definitively established the legality of zoning in the United States. Until this time zoning codes existed under a legal cloud of doubt and uncertainty, but in *Euclid* the basic framework of zoning was judged to be constitutional, as it remains to the present day. (For this reason traditional American zoning, functioning primarily on the basis of land use categories, is often called "Euclidean zoning.") Even the zoning codes previously seen as most suspect were generally safe after *Euclid*—local governments were now free to craft their codes on a relatively arbitrary basis. While various aspects of zoning, and of particular zoning regulations, are often contested and sometimes end up in court, the practice of zoning itself has become an entrenched and widely accepted part of planning, land use, and real estate.

Businesspeople in real estate value zoning for the stability and predictability it brings to an area and the legal clarity it establishes; a developer or banker knows beforehand what can be done on a property, and what the future of the neighborhood is likely to be. As early as 1919, a prozoning executive with the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company explained, "we could not make loans in the remote parts of Brooklyn or Queens Borough on dwellings or apartment houses if we did not know that this property was restricted to residential use."<sup>30</sup> Many zoning clashes are not truly conflicts between business and government, but between different business interests each of which strives to get the state to support its objectives. Furthermore, the passion of residents for zoning is often inspired by their concern for property values, as home ownership gives citizens a businesslike mentality in this regard. Often perceived as an imposition on business, zoning is better understood as a factor that helps structure the capitalist market—a market that is never "free" or "natural" but always constructed, as markets do not exist in any pure unfettered condition. The state and the market are integrally connected. Indeed, as noted earlier, it is the state that creates and guarantees the legal regime of land ownership in the first place (a point overlooked by those who denounce zoning as an unwarranted restriction on private property).

In the early decades of the twentieth century the practice of zoning, and more generally of urban planning, spread to other Western nations like France and Britain.<sup>31</sup> Over the rest of the century, planning and zoning became widespread and pervasive (at least in modern or modernizing nations), a routine and accepted part of the administration of urban governance. While planning's culture of technocratic certainty was significantly scaled back after the 1960s, in the wake of Jane Jacobs's influential critiques along with a broader transition to a more cautious and incremental perspective, its essentially systematic approach endures, as does zoning. In spite of much bitter criticism, zoning has proven to be a fundamental and necessary component of how our built environment is structured, controlled, shaped, and organized. Indeed,



zoning is probably the most important aspect of planning—in a profession often concerned about its lack of relevance or power, zoning is one tool that undeniably has a substantial impact. It plays a pivotal role in shaping (and reshaping) cities and suburbs, and the frequent conflicts associated with it are simply proof of its importance.

Over the past few decades zoning has come into renewed focus. Urban designers from the 1930s through the 1960s typically dreamed of reinventing the city—following a modernist mode of thinking, they aimed to design and build massive projects that would overhaul traditional urbanism and bring cities into a bright new future. Far from trying to weave their creations into the urban fabric, they saw them as separate from the problems and corruptions of the outdated city. Not surprisingly, these modernist architects and urban designers had little use for the seemingly mundane details of zoning. Not all of their projected projects and megastructures were built, but those that were generally had negative consequences for urban life. Condemning them, Jane Jacobs argued, “one of the unsuitable ideas behind projects is the very notion that they *are* projects, abstracted out of the ordinary city and set apart,” adding that they should be “rewoven back into the [urban] fabric.”<sup>32</sup> Her interest in this urban fabric, the ordinary city of blocks, buildings, streets, and sidewalks, logically implies zoning’s relevance. Jacobs is not highly attentive to the ins and outs of zoning, but does criticize its tendency toward spatial clusters of single uses, and in one suggestive passage proposes “zoning for diversity” in place of conventional zoning.<sup>33</sup>

Writing in the early 1960s, Jacobs was immediately influential but it took time for the implications of her ideas—along with those of Christopher Alexander, Colin Rowe, Aldo Rossi, and others who promulgated new approaches to the design of cities in the 1960s and 1970s—to have a deeper impact on the actual practice of urban design. In the 1990s, this finally came about through the emergence of New Urbanism, a strategy of urban design and planning that focuses on the fabric of the everyday city and pays particular attention to zoning. While New Urbanism has its drawbacks—in particular, its fondness for a neotraditional aesthetic, mythical evocation of “community,” and tendency to succumb to gentrification—many of its followers are perceptive in understanding how zoning is constitutive of urban form. Zoning codes for them are not just an inconvenience but a powerful tool for change—provided one is able to rewrite them. New Urbanists have sought to do exactly that, introducing form-based codes, traditional neighborhood development (TND) regulations, mixed-use zoning, and “complete streets” ordinances. In recent years some theorists and practitioners of Landscape Urbanism, a movement that actually positions itself in opposition to New Urbanism, have likewise taken an interest in regulations and organizational frameworks as design tools, though in a rhetorical rather than practical fashion. (Their interest traces back to Rem Koolhaas’s proposed design in the 1980s for Parc de la Villette in Paris,

which put forth a spatial organizational system rather than a built morphology.) The Retrofitting Suburbia movement, to some degree an outgrowth of New Urbanism, also sees the need to reform zoning regulations.

Underlying such efforts is the realization that zoning is here to stay. Fundamentally entwined with land use, development, and local governance, the necessity of zoning is evident, and its continued existence seems assured. The question is what its impacts will be, and which citizens will benefit or suffer from its implementation, for zoning always possesses a political dimension. The history of zoning provides plentiful examples of how the state, through this organizational and bureaucratic tool, has served many interests and constituencies, both for better and for worse. A multiplicity of motivations, some self-serving and others praiseworthy, have long characterized zoning; it runs the gamut from exclusionary codes designed to bar the poor or racial minorities, to regulations that promote the well-being of the public or protect the environment. Zoning is not inherently good or bad—it depends on how it is applied, and for what purpose.

Zoning is symptomatic of modernity, of both the nation-state and the capitalist economic system. Building on the concept of property ownership, zoning classifies and orders land and makes it a more fungible commodity. No deep understanding of the context of a particular site is necessary, as premodern knowledge, local in nature and nuanced but unsystematic, is devalued in favor of more abstract universal categories. The world is seen through conceptualizations like R-1 and C-3, letters and numbers with vast consequences. Though limited by their rigidity, such classifications help bureaucrats and business-people reduce messy reality to clearly defined categories. In the process they inevitably reconfigure that reality, for zoning is an abstraction that does not merely describe the world but powerfully reshapes it.

### Notes

1. James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998).
2. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* [trans. Alan Sheridan] (New York: Vintage Books [Random House], 1975).
3. Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Timothy Mitchell, *Rule of Experts: Egypt, Techno-Politics, Modernity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).
4. M. Christine Boyer, *Dreaming the Rational City: The Myth of American City Planning* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1983).
5. Michael Mann, "The Autonomous Power of the State: Its Origins, Mechanisms and Results," in *State/Space: A Reader*, eds. Neil Brenner, Bob Jessop, Martin Jones, and Gordon MacLeod (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 54–55.
6. Emily Talen gives a useful historical survey of many customs and laws that were precursors to zoning. See Emily Talen, "Design by the Rules: The

- Historical Underpinnings of Form-Based Codes," *Journal of the American Planning Association* 75, no. 2 (Spring 2009): 144–60. Also see Emily Talen, *City Rules: How Regulations Affect Urban Form* (Washington, DC: Island Press, 2012), 19–22, 37–43, 127–32, 139–42.
7. Howard Davis, *The Culture of Building* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 207–10.
  8. James R. Beniger, *The Control Revolution: Technological and Economic Origins of the Information Society* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986).
  9. See Martha Banta, *Taylorized Lives: Narrative Productions in the Age of Taylor, Veblen and Ford* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1993).
  10. Max Weber (eds. Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich), *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretative Sociology*, Vol. 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978 [orig. 1922]), 223.
  11. Matthew Hull, *Government of Paper: The Materiality of Bureaucracy in Urban Pakistan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012).
  12. Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 30–31.
  13. *Ibid.*, 31.
  14. Keith D. Revell, *Building Gotham: Civic Culture and Public Policy in New York City, 1898–1938* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003). Revell makes the argument throughout the book, but see p. 224 in reference to zoning.
  15. Andro Linklater, *Owning the Earth: The Transforming History of Land Ownership* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2013); John F. Richards, "Toward a Global System of Property Rights in Land," in Edmund Burke, III, and Kenneth Pomeranz, eds., *The Environment and World History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 54–78; Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 33–52.
  16. Richards, "Toward a Global System," 55.
  17. See David Buisseret, ed., *Monarchs, Ministers, and Maps: The Emergence of Cartography as a Tool of Government in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1992).
  18. Brian Ladd, *Urban Planning and Civic Order in Germany, 1860–1914* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990), 187–88.
  19. *Ibid.*, 189–93; Anthony Sutcliffe, *Towards the Planned City: Germany, Britain, the United States and France, 1780–1914* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1981), 32.
  20. Quoted in Eran Ben-Joseph, *The Code of the City: Standards and the Hidden Language of Place Making* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005), 52.
  21. Quoted in *ibid.*, 52–53.
  22. Sutcliffe, *Towards the Planned City*, 9, 34, 205–7; Ladd, *Urban Planning and Civic Order in Germany*, 1.
  23. Robert A. Williams, Jr., "Euclid's Lochnerian Legacy," in *Zoning and the American Dream: Promises Still to Keep*, eds. Charles M. Haar and Jerold S. Kayden (Chicago, IL: Planners Press [American Planning Association], 1989), 278.
  24. Richard Plunz, *A History of Housing in New York City: Dwelling Type and Social Change in the American Metropolis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 21–49.

25. Lawrence W. Kennedy, *Planning the City Upon a Hill: Boston Since 1630* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1992), 112–14.
26. Jon A. Peterson, *The Birth of City Planning in the United States, 1840–1917* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 309–10.
27. Revell, *Building Gotham*, 185–226.
28. Peterson, *The Birth of City Planning in the United States*, 314; Revell, *Building Gotham*, 213.
29. Revell, *Building Gotham*, 213–23.
30. Quoted in *ibid.*, 220–1.
31. Sutcliffe, *Towards the Planned City*, 47–87, 126–201.
32. Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Vintage Books, 1961), 392.
33. *Ibid.*, 252–4.



# Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

# Held in Suspension: Competing Discourses on Urban Modernity in 1960s Slovenia, Yugoslavia

*Veronica E. Aplenc*

## **Yugoslavia: A State Falling In-between Multiple Centers Spatially and Temporally**

In the interwar period, the Slovene capital of Ljubljana in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes was made up of multiple districts, each capturing a particular aspect of the town's overall character. The Trnovo district was popularly described at the time as a beautiful, village-like neighborhood of vegetable gardens, large green spaces, historic architecture, and a small medieval section that together created a rural idyll just outside the town center. By 1991, when the republic of Slovenia declared independence from socialist Yugoslavia, this iconic district was crowded with high-rises and single-family homes that had replaced most of the old gardens and overshadowed the historic architecture. The reconstruction of Trnovo by agents of the socialist state mirrored broader processes across Yugoslavia and East Central Europe in which states reconfigured urban space physically and symbolically to support the construction of new societies.<sup>1</sup> In Trnovo's case, this transformation was begun at the apex of Yugoslav state socialism in the late 1960s, and how it unfolded lent support to but complicated Yugoslav state socialism.

Architectural and urban planning professionals in socialist-era East Central Europe operated in complex relations with the state, as they frequently supported and advanced official political agendas while building on existing professional legacies. In parallel, recent scholarship has revealed that these experts' work figured as an integral part of broader international developments, versus constituting distinct, aesthetically unfortunate, or isolated trends.<sup>2</sup> Although these connections draw attention to the reality of trans-systemic

transfers around the globe, they also reveal the power of changing scholarly and popular notions in the discursive construction of the “other” over time. The detailed workings of both urban planning and architecture have complicated our understanding of the European socialist states and revealed that their built environments reflect conceptions of urban modernity, and identity that are as intricate as those found in their historically better-studied Western counterparts.

In 1966, the *General Urban Plan of Development for Ljubljana* (Generalni plan urbanističnega razvoja Ljubljane) (GUP) was formulated to forecast extensive expansion in infrastructure, housing, industrial zones, and downtown development for the capital of Slovenia, the northernmost socialist Yugoslav republic. The 1969–1970 reconstruction plan for the Trnovo district echoed on a neighborhood scale the GUP’s push for urbanization, and both shared in regional trends, including professional continuities across time. However, in seeking a nuanced understanding of continuities between the interwar and postwar periods in the planning and architecture professions, the 1969–1970 Trnovo redevelopment plan is instructive as it draws attention to complex discursive borrowings that occurred across spatial and temporal boundaries. Viewed from this angle, the neighborhood’s anticipated reconstruction emerges as one driven by differing conceptions of modernity held by planners that unexpectedly intertwined in their work in a contradictory array of beliefs.

These divergent understandings are evident in the very first plans for the neighborhood that date from the late 1960s, before implementation efforts led to open clashes between urban planners, architects, and locals in the 1970s. While Slovene urban planners strongly espoused the Yugoslav socialist state’s broad project and its related efforts to modernize towns, they also unexpectedly carried with them other beliefs about urban modernity that were grounded in a local setting and not fully compatible with the state’s vision. With this stance, socialist Slovene design professionals embraced a multiplicity of understandings of urban modernity and thus of referential centers in the construction of place. Trnovo’s case demonstrates that socialist-era conceptions of urban modernity did not necessarily flow along a single line of development, based on an interwar legacy, but rather could flow along multiple lines, thus complicating the picture of Yugoslavia as the “land of the in-between.”

Socialist-era Yugoslavia has attracted researchers’ attention for a variety of reasons, with the vast majority related to the country’s apparent exceptionalism. Over the course of the late twentieth century, these impetuses to study Yugoslavia have spanned a fascination with a socialist alternative to the Soviet Union, an interest in the darling of the nonaligned, to concern, if not disgust, with apparently inexplicable violence and political instability.<sup>3</sup> In many of these conceptions, Yugoslavia is cast as existing in between other, larger powers and so as standing in some form of opposition to them. There is a clear element of historical truth to Yugoslavia’s “in-between-ness” as the

country pursued a policy of political non-alignment and a specific interpretation of socialism. The position of the in-between, however, can also suggest the assumption of a single, more powerful center that defines the states surrounding it, versus allowing for exchanges between a state and a center, or between a state and multiple centers.

Maria Todorova has persuasively shown that the Balkans have historically been constructed in Western European discourse as a region that lies between East and West. By extension, the area can be understood as somehow unaffiliated with a civilizing center and thus perhaps particularly prone to political instability and violence.<sup>4</sup> In considering Zagreb's development on the edge of multiple empires, Eve Blau has drawn on Ljubo Karaman's notion of "freedom of the periphery," in which peripheral areas such as Zagreb draw on multiple centers to negotiate their position creatively.<sup>5</sup> Karaman's proposal that a periphery can tap into multiple centers suggests possible extensions across space and time. Following Todorova's call to consider the discursive construction of so-called peripheral states and others' exploration of the nature of Yugoslavia's in-between-ness,<sup>6</sup> I consider the Trnovo reconstruction plans and their links to diverse professional, intellectual, and political centers of diverse geographical and temporal locations. This chapter seeks to nuance previous understandings of the relationships, both explicit and implied, between one Central European peripheral area and the centers that competed for the affiliation of architecture and planning professionals at the key moment of what I term Yugoslav high socialism, or the prosperous 1960s.

### **The Advent of Slovene Urban Planning: Reorientation to a Newly Defined Belgrade and Yugoslav Socialist Modernity**

Following World War II, which in Yugoslavia was accompanied by a vicious civil war, Tito's socialist state came into power in 1945 and went about rebuilding the country on multiple levels. For capital cities, such as Ljubljana, this raised the question of how to introduce socialist modernity into the existing urban fabric, a fabric that carried clear references to a nonsocialist past. Such city spaces promised to play a key role in the shaping of the socialist citizen and in providing him with an appropriately modern, socialist environment for cultivation of his subjectivity. In the first five years after the war, a centralized, planned economy and clear political direction guided Yugoslav policies. The new state's focus fell on economic reorientation and the establishing of political control, key two arenas for the solidification of state power vis-à-vis the population in the postwar environment. During this time, Yugoslavia faced significant international political challenges as Tito broke with Stalin in 1947, launching the country onto an uncertain path. Party theorists quickly regrouped, and a new constitution was adopted in 1953. With its centralized administration and a political assertiveness in its policies, the federal capital



of Belgrade successfully defined itself as the unequivocal new center of the country on practical, political, as well as symbolic levels.<sup>7</sup>

Once the concerns of the immediate postwar period had been dealt with, federal attention turned to urban planning between the early socialist period of 1945 and the adoption of the second constitution in 1963. On the local level, urban development in Ljubljana in this period roughly paralleled that in other provincial towns of Yugoslavia, while Slovene architecture and planning adopted a political and professional orientation that was aligned with Belgrade. Physical changes were modest and urban developments remained on the periphery of concerns, given the backdrop of political sea-changes sweeping the country.<sup>8</sup> Ljubljana had no comprehensive planning during the interwar period and therefore there were few noticeable changes. However, during this time, architecture and urban planning work in Slovenia established a political and professional orientation that was aligned toward Belgrade through the confluence of the highly centralized state's strong administrative control, the focused clarity of its political aims, and a readiness on the part of key Slovene architects active in early planning efforts to support the new state. The state actively cultivated support by reorganizing architects' bureaus locally and sponsoring exchange between Yugoslav republics to foster shared ideals.<sup>9</sup> While Slovene design professionals acknowledged the interwar foundations of their field, their work and writings reflected a reorientation to the new political context, in developments similar to those found across East Central Europe and augmented by their experiences of the war. Professionals' support for the state's agenda is made particularly clear in professional publications of the period, notably *Arhitekt*, the main Slovene journal at the time for architectural, planning, and design issues. During the 1950s, early legislative framework was established for urban planning work at the federal and republic level.<sup>10</sup>

By the early 1960s, Yugoslav had stabilized both politically and economically, and the state turned its attention to other areas. Tito's role in the new nonaligned movement opened political, economic, and professional opportunities across the second and third worlds. The immediate postwar goals of establishing heavy industry and beginning to add new infrastructure had been largely addressed, although housing needs remained unmet. The new constitution of 1963 established self-management and a semimarket orientation to the economy as hallmarks of Yugoslav state socialism, and they looked promising. These developments, along with state-sponsored consumerism and leisure, promoted a prosperity that Yugoslav socialism came to be known for.<sup>11</sup>

By the high socialism of the 1960s, urban planning had differentiated itself from the field of architecture, as evidenced by professional writings in *Sinteza*, the journal that replaced *Arhitekt*, and the field was begun to enjoy transnational connections, some of which were based in Ljubljana.<sup>12</sup> Finally, solid legislative basis for the role of comprehensive urban planning for a modernist, socialist society came in 1967 and was reflected on the republic

level in two parallel Slovene laws, the Law on Urban Planning (*Zakon o urbanističnem planiranju*) (UL SRS št. 67/67) and the Law on Regional Planning (*Zakon o regionalnem prostorskem planiranju*) (UL SRS št. 16/67). Together they established comprehensive planning for the republic that would serve the interests of society by spelling out socioeconomic guidelines for urban life, as defined by a Yugoslav socialist understanding.<sup>13</sup> In this context, the first comprehensive plan for Ljubljana emerged, and it reflected planning's broader sociopolitical project.

### **The Iconic Trnovo District in Ljubljana: Multiple Prewar Encounters with Urban Modernity**

Slovene urban planners choosing the Trnovo district in Ljubljana for development at the height of urban planning efforts under 1960s high socialism is not surprising, given the neighborhood's iconic historic valence for the city. In 1834, the great Slovene Romantic poet France Prešeren immortalized Trnovo as a "place of an ill-fated name" (*kraj nesrečnega imena*), or the site where he first laid eyes on his unrequited love, Julija.<sup>14</sup> Historically located at the edge of Ljubljana, Trnovo occupied a central place in the local imagination from the interwar onward as a locally beloved, iconic district.

In its appearance, Trnovo undoubtedly held a certain charm. Nestled at the quiet confluence of the Ljubljanica River and Gradaščica stream, the neighborhood boasted nineteenth-century commercial buildings along its historic wharfs, long since inactive, and a Baroque parish church on one side of the Gradaščica stream. On the other side of the Gradaščica, a small, medieval network of streets wove through an area known as Krakovo. There, neat, two-storey, three-bay houses created a unified façade down each street, with long, rectangular gardens extending behind each domicile. Behind the commercial buildings and the roughly rectangular carré, expanses of gardens stretched toward the hinterland beyond, interrupted only by the open green spaces of the town commons. A few stone-masonry residences were scattered through the district, as well as some workshops. Along the waterways, an unobtrusive but striking modernism had crept in; both the Ljubljanica and Gradaščica boasted sweeping 1930s banks designed by architect Jože Plečnik. These riverbanks tied into Plečnik's other interventions across downtown Ljubljana.

The greater Trnovo area was historically associated with two historic settlements, historic Trnovo and historic Krakovo.<sup>15</sup> Both were noted in written records by the twelfth century and described as independent settlements with commercial ties to the town.<sup>16</sup> By the seventeenth century, Krakovo had developed a site-specific urban footprint for which it remained known through the early twentieth century, characterized by rows of small cottages along relatively rectilinear, unpaved streets, and gardens beyond. The two settlements' growth was marked in 1758 by the establishment of a parish church



**Figure 11.1.** Trnovo gardens as seen from Emonska cesta, looking north towards the Ljubljana Castle. Photo likely to date from 1930s. (Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage, Ljubljana Unit Office. Collection: Krakovo).<sup>17</sup>

on historic Trnovo's side of the Gradaščica stream. Despite an 1895 earthquake and piecemeal planning intended to counter a housing boom, greater Trnovo largely retained its predominantly semirural appearance through the interwar period. Residential growth was limited to a few streets, including ones headed into town and ones stretching toward the open land beyond (figure 11.1).

Given the semirural nature of the district and Ljubljana's lack of general urban planning until the mid-1960s, it may appear that the introduction of reconstruction plans represented Trnovo's first contact with urban modernity. Closer inspection, however, reveals a different story. Trnovo had encountered discourses related to urban modernity twice before World War II. In 1933, a new monograph, *The Trnovo Parish in Ljubljana*, captured the romantic spirit associated with a national "folk," a concept integral to the notion of a modern, and generally urban, nation-state. While author and parish priest Ivan Vrhovnik did not openly argue that Trnovo embodied the national community, his gentleman's ethnography presented the parish as an idealized, Slovene folk community that was entering modernity. This was hardly an original depiction of Trnovo; it had captured attention as early as 1689, when the gentleman scholar Johann Weichard van Valvasor immortalized the area for Slovenes in his monumental fifteen-tome *Glory of the Duchy of Carniola*. This first major written work on Slovene lands, peoples, and customs continues to stand as a touchstone for historical studies of Slovenia as an ethnic nation.

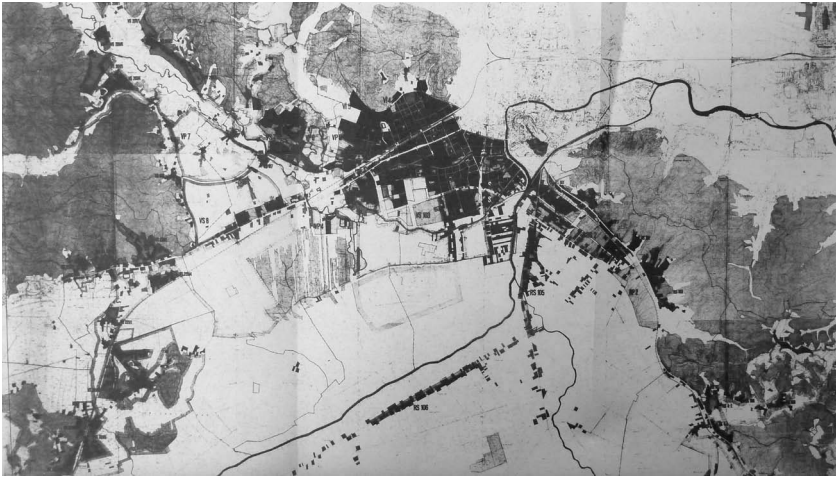
In addition, early architectural modernism arrived in Trnovo when the well-known Slovene architect Jože Plečnik returned from Vienna, then the main center of the Habsburg realm, to his native Ljubljana in 1921. Joining a swell of emigré elites who returned to Ljubljana upon the disintegration of the Habsburg Empire and the founding of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, Plečnik was instrumental in the new architecture school, at the newly founded university in Ljubljana, as well as in architectural and urban planning work throughout Ljubljana. Upon relocating to the capital,

Plečnik opted to settle not in the town center, but rather on its outskirts, in a house in the Trnovo district that he began renovating in 1923. By the 1930s, Plečnik had introduced new buildings, waterway management, and street arrangements across Ljubljana that are today known collectively as “Plečnik’s Ljubljana,” portions of which are located in the Trnovo district. The 1930s saw great architectural change in Trnovo, as Plečnik regulated the riverbanks and built a church plaza, but his work was done so masterfully that it did not overpower the district’s existing character. With the introduction of state socialism in 1945, Trnovo was already marked with clear associations to two discourses of urban modernity that were in turn linked to conceptions of the state, the nation, and urban forms, all very different from those promoted by the socialist state.

### **Slovene Urban Planning Comes of Age: The 1966 General Urban Plan for Ljubljana**

In 1960s Slovenia, planning powerfully expressed its new-found sense of professionalism and commitment to the principles of Yugoslav state socialism in the 1966 GUP, which forecast extensive development, numerous new areas for housing and industrial growth, a new transportation network, and growth along radial arteries.<sup>18</sup> In form, the GUP embodied a narrative of professionalism, while its contents reflected the embracing by Slovene planners of pan-Yugoslav principles of comprehensive urban planning. Taken as a whole, it expressed a narrative of modernization that followed the two main lines present of Yugoslav urban planning: the need to meet socialism’s ideological goals, including modernization and industrialization, coupled with the need to resolve practical issues, specifically the continuing housing shortage and growing infrastructural needs. In keeping with planning legislation, the GUP was tied to multiple other planning documents that were intended to direct societal development; these included urban planning, industrial development, and overall economic planning, all of which were designed to interlink across federal, republic, and county levels (figure 11.2).

Prepared by The Ljubljana Urban Institute (*Ljubljanski Urbanistični Zavod*) (LUZ) in 1966, the *GUP* represents a very sizeable document and undertaking.<sup>20</sup> The information the *GUP* contains is vast in scope and ambition; in one of its documents, the *General Urban Plan* both forecasts and is intended to regulate and guide Ljubljana’s development in seven key areas, each presented cartographically. Each map corresponds roughly to a type of zoning, and they include Areas not for Construction, Areas for Construction, Transportation, Infrastructure, Historic Preservation, Boundaries, and a comprehensive overview.<sup>21</sup> Each of these seven sections, in turn, contains several smaller maps of its own that outline a variety of details related to the section in question. The nature of the categories embodied the key concerns of the state at the time; the *GUP*’s organization captured planners’ efforts to reconfigure Ljubljana



**Figure 11.2.** Detail of the General Urban Plan for Ljubljana, showing the Vič-Rudnik administrative area in which the Trnovo district lay. General Urban Plan [GUP] for Ljubljana. Existing Use of Land and Stipulations of the GUP. Detailed Plan (Regulation Plan) for the Broader Municipal Area of Vič and Rudnik, prepared by the Ljubljana Urban Institute, February 1978 (Historical Archives of Ljubljana, collection LJU 80/2Skupščina občine Ljubljana Vič-Rudnik (Parliament of the County Ljubljana Vič-Rudnik), box 125, folder 196).<sup>19</sup>

physically to reflect them. Central to this reconfiguration would be significant city expansion.

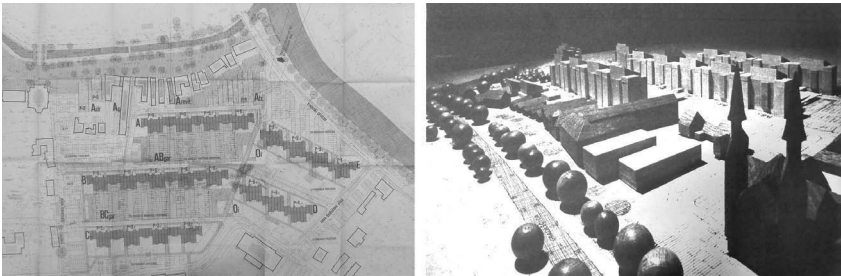
For example, the two maps on Areas for Construction and on Areas Not for Construction identified extensive portions of the town that could accommodate residential development, a burning issue at the time, as well as new industrial development, a key goal of the state. The specifics of housing and industrial development were left to offices dedicated to drawing up plans for the local level. In its two maps on Transportation and on Infrastructure, the GUP addressed key areas that would support this development, such as significant expansion of the road and railway systems; these maps were largely of an engineering nature.<sup>22</sup> The Boundaries map reflected administrative divisions within the city. Finally, the map on Historic Preservation foregrounded the importance of Tito's National Liberation Struggle in the monuments it projected, as well as a readiness to preserve the existing historic city core. Together, they reflected Yugoslavia's modernization and industrialization goals, a commitment to the ideology of the liberation struggle, and a keen awareness of the practical aspects of supporting growth (figure 11.3, left).

As a whole, the GUP reflects the city's official intention to expand extensively, markedly augment the municipal roadway system, and build up a massive amount of housing. These cartographically expressed plans outline

an extensive, well-coordinated scheme for the development of the town. The all-encompassing scope of the GUP mirrors professional beliefs that planners could successfully capture all aspects of society's development in their work. The Areas Not for Construction include multiple subcategories, including parks, green spaces, recreational areas, farmed land, water reservoirs, regulated waterways, areas to source construction materials and similar, zoos and similar, transportation rights-of-ways, municipal services rights-of-way, and cemeteries. In this, the GUP reveals a highly practical approach, as these details point to an awareness of and planning for the many elements required to support municipal development.

The map on Areas for Construction corresponds to most of the built portions of the city at the time. These were subdivided in a color-coded key: central (corresponding to the downtown area), housing and related, production and related, municipal services areas, education and health related, and lastly reserves for construction. Of these, housing predominates. Three areas were left out of the Areas for Construction – historic Castle Hill in the very center of town, green Rožnik hill on the periphery, and an area just outside the city where the Ljubljana Marsh began – in a combination of preservation, protection of green spaces, and practicality. In the Area for Construction, Trnovo figures clearly as a site for future housing development (figure 11.3, right).

With its sweep across all areas of society, the GUP expresses the belief that planners could successfully create a coordinated scheme for the future



**Figure 11.3.** (Right) Map of 1969–70 plan for Trnovo, showing planned high-rises in northern section of the Trnovo district. Taken from Part I of Documentation for the Realization of the Reconstruction Portion of VS-1 Trnovo. Prepared by the Ljubljana Urban Institute, April 1976 (Historical Archives of Ljubljana, collection LJU 80/2 – Skupščina občine Ljubljana Vič-Rudnik (Parliament of the County Ljubljana Vič-Rudnik), box 127, folder 198).<sup>23</sup> (Left) Model of new, northwest section of Trnovo as envisioned in the 1969–1970 plan. Taken from Proposal for the Dismissal of the Construction Plan for the Area VS-1 Trnovo. Prepared by the Ljubljana Urban Institute, February 1977. (Historical Archives of Ljubljana, collection LJU 80/2Skupščina občine Ljubljana Vič-Rudnik (Parliament of the County Ljubljana Vič-Rudnik), box 127, folder 198).<sup>24</sup>

development of the city on all levels. Free of written text and expressed only cartographically, this GUP document makes use of professional vocabulary, illegible to those outside the field. The sheer amount of information in the *GUP* and its beautiful presentation in color-coded, 4-foot square maps attests to Slovene planners' professional abilities, a remarkable achievement in the city's first general urban plan. This wonderful set of interlocking maps thus both seeks legitimacy from and works to impart legitimacy to a still relatively new, yet flowering urban planning profession.

Taken as a whole, the GUP captures the modernization narrative of Yugoslav urban planning in this period: a commitment to pursuing socialism's ideologically defined goals, especially modernization and industrialization, while resolving practical issues related to the continuing housing shortage and infrastructure needs. With its professional vocabulary, and the presentation of massive amounts of interlocking data, the GUP was clearly designed to prove that Ljubljana would become a well-functioning, well-organized, and modernized Yugoslav socialist. Through implementation of the GUP, Ljubljana would be integrated into the remaining parts of Yugoslavia, and so together embody a Yugoslav socialist modernity.

### **The 1969–1970 Plan for Trnovo: Slovene Urban Planning Acknowledges Local Particularities**

Trnovo had been a quiet district at the edge of Ljubljana for over six centuries when it was slated for housing development by the GUP in 1966. Soon after the GUP's publication, the first development plans were drawn up for Trnovo. Tapping into the 1960s professional discourse in urban planning that included a focus on the modern socialist neighborhood unit (*soseska*), the Trnovo development plans echoed the development forecast in the GUP and expressed pan-Yugoslav planning beliefs.<sup>25</sup> They also included a surprising nod to local views in a passing inclusion of two iconic characteristics of the district. This local framework, however, was fundamentally incompatible with the broader project Yugoslav socialism and thus worked to complicate it.

State-educated urban planners of the Ljubljana Urban Institute presented documents from 1969 to 1972 that first outlined their vision for the new Trnovo.<sup>26</sup> By 1969 and 1970, the core documents needed to bring change to the district had been prepared, in keeping with legislative requirements. The comprehensive plan formally called for a complete physical and symbolic reimagining of the neighborhood. The initial plans included the 1969 *Programmatic Portion of the Construction Plan for VS1 + VS102 – Trnovo*; the 1970 *Technical Portion of the Construction Plan for VS1 + VS102 – Trnovo*; a "corrected plan" of this 1970 *Technical Portion*; and in 1972 the—complete—*Construction Plan for VS1 + VS102 – Trnovo*, which was adopted by the council of the City of Ljubljana.<sup>27</sup> Together, the plans called for the demolition of the northwest portion of Trnovo, which included old housing and small, old

gardens whose present was attested to for 300 years, and their replacement with high rises. In parallel, the plans forecast the extensive introduction of single-family homes into the much larger, southern section of the district, which up to this point had contained a few farms, gardens, a bit of housing, and extensive open space.

According to these initial documents, “old” Trnovo or its historic, inner core close to the Trnovo church provided mildly primitive and “only minimal conditions for living and work to residents.”<sup>28</sup> Given this, it needed to be demolished to make way for multiple rows of high-rise apartment blocks. In parallel, the majority of Trnovo’s historic gardens and open space in the south of the district would be replaced by single-family homes inserted into these areas. The resulting neighborhood would spatially reflect the evolving beliefs of Yugoslav state socialism. The high-rises to the north took a strict, modernist form, while the single-family housing to the south reflected the new Yugoslav consumerism and related housing policies that were emerging by the 1960s. The high-rises would stand next to inner Trnovo, placed immediately behind the Trnovo church, opposite historic Krakovo with its medieval grid of streets, and facing Jože Plečnik’s 1930s riverbank management. These 8–12-story apartment buildings would stand at a sharp 90° angle to the Gradaščica stream, extending in clear lines behind the Trnovo Church. All the existing small streets and accompanying plot layouts in inner Trnovo would be erased, replaced with new paths meandering among the high-rise apartment buildings. With their high profile, these apartment blocks would tower over the church as well as the surrounding area. In their very form, the apartment buildings would architecturally embody an idealized Yugoslav socialist modernity. And, while Trnovo had experienced some residential development in the interwar period, its historic gardens and open spaces would be altered to accommodate the massive spread of single-family housing embodying the emerging Yugoslav dream of consumerism in a socialist society. This idealized vision is articulated best in the plans’ proposal of *nadstandardni*, literally “above-standard,” or up-scale, high-rises for the new district (see figure 11.3).

### **Local Complications to Socialist Modernity: “Folksy” Vegetable Gardens and Interwar Architecture**

When seeking to plan for Yugoslav socialist modernity, however, Slovene planners unexpectedly incorporated place-specific details into the Trnovo plan. On the surface these appear as harmless nods to historically iconic aspects of the site. In distinction to the neat narrative of the 1966 GUP, the 1970 *Technical Portion of the Construction Plan* notes in passing:

The Gradaščica on one side, and the Ljubljana on the other, together with the church and Plečnik’s museum create natural boundaries for this area, which is already so peaceful, [and] which, given the



low quality of existing housing, does not impart anything specific to Ljubljana, except insofar as Plečnik's amenagement of the Gradaščica [stream], and perhaps the little vegetables gardens. (*Tehnični del* 1970: 5, 18-19)

While urban planners regularly take advantage of the unique aspects of sites, the passing acknowledgment of the “little vegetable gardens,” located near the parish church, and of masterful 1930s architecture of the interwar giant, yet postwar *persona non grata*, stand in opposition to the assumptions behind the industrialized, modernized socialist modernity that is outlined in the remainder of the plans. Both references – to that of the folksy community and its “little vegetable gardens,” and to a founding father of Slovene architecture – introduce into the plan disparate, yet equally modern visions for the Trnovo district that were historically well-established by the early 1930s.

The first element, the “little vegetable gardens,” located so close to the Trnovo parish church, had by the high socialism of the 1960s enjoyed a strong presence in the popular imagination as an iconic site associated with the Slovene national folk. By the late 1960s, Trnovo continued to enjoy a reputation as a gardening district, and Trnovo gardeners maintained an active presence at the main Ljubljana market in a socialist accommodation of small-scale commercial gardening practices (figure 11.4).

While Trnovo enjoyed popular press in the interwar period, it was Johann Weichard van Valvasor's fifteen-tome *The Glory of the Duchy of Carniola* of 1689 that served as the seminal historical source for this distinctive area. Valvasor's text takes the form of encyclopedic-like lists of details



**Figure 11.4.** Krakovo gardens and houses, looking east toward the Trnovo Church (left), photo likely to date from 1960s. Historic housing in Krakovo, along Krakovska ulica, with gardens beyond (right). Taken from Protected Ambience Area. Prepared by the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage, Ljubljana, 1963 (Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage, Ljubljana Unit Office. Collection: Krakovo).<sup>29</sup>

and charming vignettes of local life, ranging from notes about economic activities and historical events to village lifeways. His narratives reveal as much about the author as they do about the communities that they purport to record. His description of Trnovo, with Krakovo, is quite extensive in comparison with other small communities surrounding Ljubljana. In it, he outlines the areas' boating and ferrying work, as well as an amusing vignette on local history. The map of Ljubljana that Valvasor includes in his 1689 work clearly marks the historic communities just outside the town, and his earlier 1660 bird's-eye portrayal of the town reveals the two historic districts and distinctive plotlines that suggest gardening. Although other studies followed Valvasor's, the very early nature of his work, the vastness of its scope, and its remarkable attention to detail have made *The Glory of the Duchy of Carniola* the undisputed foundation for historical studies of the Slovene people and lands.

By the interwar period, a popular monograph portrayed Trnovo as an iconic community for the Ljubljana public. Published in 1933, Ivan Vrhovnik's *The Trnovo Parish in Ljubljana* was written in a romantic mode, or, as Vrhovnik noted, "so that this book would awaken interest in the narrower and broader national history, and would kindle a love for the beautiful Trnovo area of fair [literally, "white;" signifying, "beautiful"] Ljubljana."<sup>30</sup> Vrhovnik served as parish priest in the Trnovo church and his work memorialized his parish. Taking the form of a gentleman's ethnography that appears as a cross between Valvasor's colorful description of local communities and late-nineteenth-century local studies, Vrhovnik's 300 plus-page monograph maintains a view of Trnovo as a close-to-perfect, village-like community,

In the *Krakovo* and *Trnovo* gardens [the commercial gardeners] dexterously raise all types of vegetables: all types of salad from Lewiston cornsalad and garden lettuce to iceberg lettuce, . . . Here you have everything available that a town cook needs for soup and sides. . . . Our [women commercial] gardeners never rest. They don't allow the land to lie fallow. (Vrhovnik 1933: 46-48)

Beyond this, Vrhovnik also detailed all the aspects of his parish community that he believed readers would find important. Beginning with a description of the parish flora and fauna, he outlined historical events, military service, (historical) misfortunes, military difficulties, education, topography, and sacred places. His work contained a section on aspects of religious life, such lists of parish priests, charity work, and other information from parish records. Vrhovnik did not neglect folkloristic aspects and included lists of common given names, traditional house-names, as well as notes on local customs and lifeways. He closed his book with a well-labeled map of the parish, indicating local places within the district from inner Trnovo and neighboring Krakovo to the outlying area known as Siberija. In this portrayal, Trnovo's folk nature

stems from the community's semirural, almost village-like, way of life that continues to unfold just beyond the edge of town.

With this portrayal, Vrhovnik captured a vision of Trnovo as an imagined, village-based folk that echoed the Herdian-inspired, Romantic conception of a "national folk." This notion was not new. It had figured prominently in the literary, cultural, and political movements of the nineteenth century that had helped to establish the kingdom in 1918 and were developed among Slavic intellectuals in Vienna as well as outlying towns. In presenting this portrait, Vrhovnik was referencing the intellectual legacy of early philologists and amateur ethnologists whose work had supported the political project of establishing national states.<sup>31</sup> In their vision, the urban modernity of the nation-state was often opposed to the "folk," village-based nation that served as the moderns' primitive counterpart. As many have noted, European nations' leap into modernity was assisted by intellectuals' imagining into being a traditional peasant folk of premodernity, one from whom they then divorced themselves with lamentations of nostalgic loss (Bendix 1997). Vrhovnik here was engaged in the nation-centered discourse put forward by late-nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Slovene folklore studies. As such, it was fundamentally at odds on several accounts with the Yugoslav socialist vision created by Slovene state urban planners in 1969–1970. Given their overall commitment to installing Yugoslav socialist modernity, urban planners' brief reference to "these little vegetable gardens" appears as a passing nod to a well-known feature of the district. However, this reference also incorporated fundamentally incompatible notions of urban modernity, its politics, and its people into their plans (figure 11.4, right).

Similarly, the 1969–1970 plans for Trnovo include a reference to the works of Jože Plečnik, the Slovene architectural giant of the interwar period. Plečnik chose to live and work in Trnovo in the 1930s, but was pushed aside by the early Yugoslav socialist state in favor of other architects, including his student Edvard Ravnikar, and their socialist-inspired vision of urban modernity. Plečnik stands as a prominent figure among Trnovo residents of the twentieth century on several accounts. He was the most important Slovene architect of the interwar period, and he figured as one of the most influential architects of the twentieth century in Slovenia, if not the most influential one. In addition, he designed several of Ljubljana's most celebrated architecture and landscape features, some of which extend into Trnovo.

Born into a craftsman's family in Ljubljana in 1872, Plečnik trained under Otto Wagner and by 1899 was working a draughtsman in his architectural firm, thanks to his excellent drawing and draughting skills. Working as an independent architect in Vienna from 1901 to 1911, Plečnik began to gain a significant reputation for his talent that drew attention to his unique combination of a historical vocabulary with clearly modernist forms. In the second decade of the twentieth century, Plečnik's pan-Slavic connections helped him

achieve prominence as an architect, while revealing his deep sense of personal affiliation to Slovenia.<sup>32</sup> Following World War I and the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Plečnik became active in Prague, the capital of the newly founded Czechoslovakia, and began to visit Slovenia, a provincial capital in the newly established Kingdom. In 1921, Plečnik assumed the position of professor at the school of architecture, then known as the Technical Faculty, in the recently created University of Ljubljana, and relocated to a house in what was then the semirural neighborhood of Trnovo.

From his return to Ljubljana in 1921 to the beginning of World War II, Plečnik designed and built several significant buildings in Ljubljana, and it is the work of this period that makes up the main body of his architectural legacy in Slovenia. In addition, upon his return to Ljubljana, for the first time in his career Plečnik also began to be involved in urban planning work, and his influence on Ljubljana's appearance – through his built interventions – cannot be underestimated. During the interwar period, Plečnik designed two complete urban plans for the town of Ljubljana, one in 1928 and the second around 1944. While his plans were never realized in full, Plečnik's influence on the physical development of his hometown is indisputable and his designs continue to unify downtown Ljubljana. Together with leading art historian France Stelé and municipal director of urban planning Matko Prelovšek, Plečnik is credited with conceiving of and implementing the major changes of the interwar period to Ljubljana's overall urban form.<sup>33</sup>

Plečnik's style places him within early modernist architecture of immediate turn of the century, and his particular mode of architectural expression reveals his affiliation with the Viennese school. Unlike the Bauhaus, which would emerge in three decades' time in Germany, or Le Corbusier, who was already gaining prominence in France, Plečnik fell among those early modernist architects who emphasized simplified forms that did not insist on a stripped, bare quality that, in the postwar period, would come to flourish as the International Style. His work exhibits a distinctive style that is immediately recognizable in both buildings and smaller-scale designs, and the genius of his designs places him among the great architects of the twentieth century (figure 11.5).

By the 1930s, Plečnik was active in designing a number of small interventions that spread across central Ljubljana of the time. Together forming what has come to be known as *Plečnik's Ljubljana* (*Plečnikova Ljubljana*), this network made up of individual streets, street furniture, parks, major buildings, and waterways forms a visual axis that noticeably unites downtown Ljubljana. *Plečnik's Ljubljana* extends throughout the town and, arguably, has its very beginnings in the then rural Trnovo, the district that Plečnik chose to call his home upon his return to Ljubljana. Within Trnovo, *Plečnik's Ljubljana* comprised his works along the borders of the district and by its historic core, including the Trnovo parish church. His work there includes his amenagement



**Figure 11.5.** Jože Plečnik's Market (1940–1944), façade facing the Ljubljana River, 2004 (Photo by Author).

of the Gradaščica stream banks and the accompanying aménagement of the Ljubljana River banks, plantings along the two waterways, the plaza in front of the Trnovo parish church, and St. John the Baptist Bridge, lined with trees, that extends from the church plaza across the Gradaščica stream and toward the town center.

Plečnik was highly impactful as one of the great founding figures of Slovene architecture, and he has been called “beloved and imitated by his students.”<sup>34</sup> He is now recognized as one of the key figures who introduced modernist architecture into Slovenia, together with a very few fellow architects, including Ivan Vurnik. After the establishment of the socialist Yugoslav state, however, Plečnik fell considerably out of favor with the authorities, a shift generally attributed to his pro-Catholic stance. His commissions declined and his work was largely relegated to church renovations; at the university, where he had helped to establish the architecture program, he had no prominent students. Today scholars of Yugoslav architecture of the socialist era note the existence of a Slovene school of architecture, begun with Plečnik and carried in new directions by one of his best students, Edvard Ravnikar (father).<sup>35</sup> Immediately upon his death in 1957, Plečnik was memorialized by the profession in an obituary that noted his significance and proposed a museum in his honor.<sup>36</sup> After a short page of text with the obituary and proposals, the main architectural journal of the day immediately moved to discussions of a very different conception of modern architecture.



**Figure 11.6.** Jože Plečnik's Gradaščica stream embankments (1929–32), looking south and with detail of washing area. Photo likely to date from 1930s. (Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage, Ljubljana Unit Office. Collection: Krakovo).

At the time that the Trnovo plans were being developed in the 1960s, Plečnik was rarely mentioned in professional publications and had not yet enjoyed renewed attention and exhibits; his monumental works throughout Ljubljana were largely left alone. A revived interest in his architectural designs would begin later and flourish with numerous publications in the 1980s. However, the authors of the Trnovo plan included a nod to the architectural giant in their 1969–1970 initial plans, pointing to an awareness of his significance (figure 11.6). In the greater context of the time, planners' mention of Plečnik does not suggest an embrace of his vision of urban modernity, architecture, or plans for Ljubljana as a whole, nor an implied resistance to the state and its projects. Rather, they appeared to be noting a local feature too large to ignore, while unwittingly both acknowledging and including a vision of urban modernity incompatible with theirs.

### **Conclusion: Multiple Modernities in the Socialist Yugoslav Context**

The unexpected incorporation of two interwar discourses on urban modernity in the 1969–1970 Trnovo plans certainly complicated urban planners' intentions for the district, given their overwhelming support for Yugoslav state socialism. The presence of competing discourses in the official plans is not

surprising because professional continuities from the interwar period endured through the socialist era across socialist Europe. Rather, what figures as unexpected in the Trnovo plans is the lack of conflict in officials' eyes between these clashing discourses on urban modernity. Urban planners in Ljubljana openly embraced federal discourses on planning and there is no evidence that they directly or indirectly contested these beliefs. Rather, Ljubljana planners regularly demonstrated that they embraced these ideals and made sincere efforts to fit their requirements into local conditions. To the degree they dissented, they only expressed some acknowledgment of and thus a passing allegiance to local elements. In this, they neither insisted on fully erasing the historically local, nor on fully preserving its iconic aspects.

In reconfiguring Trnovo physically and symbolically as a socialist district, the Slovene urban planners recast it as a polyvalent site regarding urban modernity and so destabilized the socialist vision of modernity and their own position. The village-like gardens of historic Trnovo had every association with nineteenth-century Romantic notions of a national, premodern folk known through late-nineteenth-century and interwar popular writings. These were the very people, the imagined national community, that all the Ljubljana plans intended to replace with a socialist citizenry. Equally, Plečnik's interwar architectural legacy was out of official favor at the time the plans were drawn up. More importantly, the modernism associated with his monumental architecture dated from the late imperial period and was clearly grounded in the Vienna School, an intellectual and political center that was incompatible with postwar socialist Belgrade. Both interwar discourses – one referencing a national imaginery and the second a vision of modernity from imperial Vienna – were grounded in centers intellectually and politically far afield from Belgrade. Their incorporation into the Trnovo reconstruction plans represented discursive borrowings across significant spatial and temporal geographies, and it was the nature of the borrowed discourses, versus the borrowing itself, that destabilized the socialist vision of modernity.

By adopting this in-between stance, one primarily grounded in federal planning beliefs but partially accommodating of local and historical discourses, Slovene urban planners also adopted a precarious stance of competing affiliations. In the decentralized climate of 1960s and the significant autonomy that republics enjoyed in managing their local affairs, Ljubljana urban planners occupied something of peripheral status in Yugoslavia. While Eve Blau has argued that interwar Zagreb positioned itself skillfully on the periphery of larger powers, in working to realize Yugoslav socialism locally Ljubljana planners appeared to position themselves practically without full consideration of the implications. Planners' discursive balancing act placed them in relation to numerous centers, both within and without Yugoslavia, in a move reminiscent of the country's emerging political self-positioning between East and West. While Yugoslavia was able to use this strategy to navigate a remarkable path

between major powers in international relations, Ljubljana urban planners' approach to self-positioning between competing centers inadvertently destabilized the very vision they were attempting to make real.

The incompatible assumptions underlying local discourses on urban modernity with those of socialist modernity were overlooked by Slovene urban planners, however, in their initial plans for Trnovo of 1969–1970. Rather, their planning documents read as full of promise for the historic district's reconfiguration. The resoluteness of their writings suggests that in the élan of high socialism, when Yugoslavia was beginning to prosper economically and politically, their vision appeared to be within reach. Working with this array of beliefs, Slovene planners proposed a discursively messy, yet still workable Trnovo in the late 1960s. The district's physical forms represented alignments with temporally and geographically disparate centers, as well as affiliated political ideals, all subsumed under planners' desire to realize locally the socialist Yugoslav dream. In the 1980s, local realization that the state was fundamentally incapable of delivering on its promises would completely destabilize that dream, and Trnovo's historical references would come to take on a new meeting. Under the high socialism of the 1960s, however, the dream seemed completely within reach and immune to the challenges posed by differing visions of urban modernity.

### Notes

1. For a discussion of these processes across Central Europe, see Virág Molnár, *Building the State: Architecture, Politics and State Formation in Postwar Central Europe* (New York: Routledge, 2013). For analyses of the Yugoslav capital and a Polish new town, see Brigitte LeNormand, *Designing Tito's Capital: Urban Planning, Modernism, and Socialism in Belgrade* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2014) and Katherine Lebow, *Unfinished Utopia: Nova Huta, Stalinism, and Polish Society, 1949–56* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2013), respectively.
2. For examples of recent scholarship on relations between architectural professionals and the state, see Karl D. Qualls, *From Ruins to Reconstruction: Urban Identity in Soviet Sevastopol After World War II* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009), Kimberly Elman Zarecor, *Manufacturing a Socialist Modernity: Housing in Czechoslovakia, 1945–1960* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2011), and Heather DeHaan, *Stalinist City Planning: Professionals, Performance, and Power in 1930s Nizhnii Novgorod* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013). For examples of studies on transnational exchanges, see Vladimir Kulić and Maroje Mrduljaš, *Modernism In-Between: The Mediatory Architecture Of Socialist Yugoslavia* (Berlin: Jovis Vergla, 2012), and the special issue of *The Journal of Architecture* on Cold War transfers, including Łukasz Stanek, "Miastoprojekt Goes Abroad: The Transfer of Architectural Labour From Socialist Poland To Iraq (1958–1989)," *The Journal of Architecture* 17, no. 3 (2012): 361–86. For a discussion of how art across Central Europe falls within the broader Western canon, versus outside it, see Piotr Piotrowski, *In the Shadow of Yalta: Art*



- and the Avant-Garde in Eastern Europe, 1945–1989*, trans. Anna Brzyski (London: Reaktion Books, 2009).
3. During the Cold War, several classic scholarly studies of Yugoslavia emerged in the North American scholarship that focused on Yugoslav exceptionalism in the broader Central and East European environment. For example, scholarly studies that considered the nationality question notably included Ivo Banac, *The Nationality Question in Yugoslavia* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1984), while Dennison Rusinow, *The Yugoslav Experiment, 1948–1974* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977) addressed the hybrid nature of the Yugoslav system. During the wars in the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s, numerous writers in the popular press ascribed a “primitive tribalism” and “ancestral hatred” to the various Yugoslav nationalities, although this interpretation is not supported by academic scholarship. For reviews of this stance, see Norman M. Naimark and Holly Case, eds. *Yugoslavia and Its Historians: Understanding the Balkan Wars of the 1990s* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), and Chapter 6: Stereotypes: Croats and Muslims in James Sadkovitch, *The U.S. Media and Yugoslavia, 1991–1995* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1998), 122–42.
  4. Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).
  5. Eve Blau, “Modernizing Zagreb: The Freedom of the Periphery,” in *Races to Modernity: Metropolitan Aspirations in Eastern Europe, 1890–1940*, eds. Jan C. Behrends and Martin Kohlrausch (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2010), 289–312.
  6. In addition to Eve Blau’s work, see, for example, Vladimir Kulić and Maroje Mrduljaš, photographs by Wolfgang Thaler, *Modernism In-Between: The Mediatory Architecture of Socialist Yugoslavia* (Berlin: Jovis Vergla, 2012), and Vladimir Kulić and Maroje Mrduljaš, eds. *Unfinished Modernisations: Between Utopia and Pragmatism* (Zagreb: Croatian Architects’ Association, 2014).
  7. While not foregrounding urban planning during this period, the new Yugoslav state successfully established its power in a comprehensive sense by passing numerous pieces of legislation, which were locally implemented, and pursuing an uncompromisingly focused stance in the key arenas of economic, agricultural, and police policies. Several texts outline the history of Yugoslavia during the twentieth century; an excellent one is John Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History: Twice There Was A Country* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996). For discussions of key political issues in immediate postwar Yugoslavia, see Melissa Bokovoy, *Peasants and Communists: Politics and Ideology in the Yugoslav Countryside, 1941–1953* (Pittsburgh, PA: Pittsburgh University Press, 1988); Carol Lilly, *Power and Persuasion: Ideology and Rhetoric in Communist Yugoslavia, 1944–1953* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2001); and, for an older, Slovene study, Jerca Vodusek-Starič, “Problem koncepta političnega razvoja v Sloveniji 1945–1952. Revolucija in država (1945–1946)” (PhD diss. University in Ljubljana, 1990).
  8. In Ljubljana, a few symbolically charged architectural demolitions occurred soon after the war. While urban planning bureaus were reorganized, countless small pieces of legislation passed, and small-scale projects carried out, largely by existing cadres. For what are perhaps the most complete accounts

- of postwar urban development in Ljubljana, see Breda Mihelič, *Urbanistični razvoj Ljubljane* (Ljubljana: Znanstveni inštitut Filozofske fakultete v Ljubljani in Partizanska knjiga, TOZD Založba, 1983), and Branko Korošec, *Ljubljana skozi stoletja: mesto na načrtih, projektih in v stvarnosti* (Ljubljana: Mladinska knjiga, 1991).
9. After 1945, the newly established state introduced laws and administrative offices to address urban issues in Ljubljana. Planning offices were first set up in the republic Ministry of Construction and, after 1947, in the Office for the Regulation of Ljubljana (*Urad za regulacijo Ljubljane*) in the Presidency of the Government (*Predsedstvo vlade*) of Slovenia. In 1950, this office prepared a first draft of an urban plan, and in 1952 a more expansive regulatory plan (*regulacijski načrt*). Five years later, a preliminary commission of the municipal people's committee (*predhodno naročilo mestnega ljudskega odbora*) authorized the architectural firm Project Atelier—Urban Institute (*Projektivni atelje – Urbanistični zavod*) to prepare a new Urban Program of Ljubljana (*Urbanistični program Ljubljane*). See Breda Mihelič, *Urbanistični razvoj Ljubljane* (Ljubljana: Znanstveni inštitut Filozofske fakultete v Ljubljani in Partizanska knjiga, TOZD Založba, 1983) and Branko Korošec, *Ljubljana skozi stoletja: mesto na načrtih, projektih in v stvarnosti*. (Ljubljana: Mladinska knjiga, 1991) for detailed discussions of Ljubljana's postwar development.
  10. The late 1950s saw the passing of numerous laws intended to better regulate municipal development, and these often included the establishing of new administrative bodies. For example, a 1959 law required that urban planning figure in all work on towns; in parallel, institutes of urbanism (*zavodi za urbanizem*) were to develop plans that would figure within larger general urban plans (*generalni urbanistični plani*). On the republic level, the newly created Urban Institute of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia (*Urbanistični inštitut SRS*) managed regional planning (*regionalno planiranje*) for the republic.
  11. The economic and political changes of this period paradoxically led to the development of a housing market, as well as to consumerism more broadly. The development of state-sponsored consumerism has been most recently outlined by Patrick Patterson in *Bought and Sold: Living and Losing the Good Life In Socialist Yugoslavia* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011), while leisure activities have been detailed in works such as Hannes Grandits and Karin Taylor's *Yugoslavia's Sunny Side: A History of Tourism under Socialism (1950–1980)* (Budapest: Central European Press, 2010).
  12. Notably, the American-Yugoslav project was begun in 1966 for the purposes of exchange, as well as professional training, and lasted for over a decade. It was headed by John Dyckman and Vladimir (Braco) Mušič, in the United States and Ljubljana, respectively, and its first years are described in John W. Dyckman and Jack C. Fisher, "Report: The American-Yugoslav Project," *Journal of American Institute of Planners* 34, no. 66 (1968): 385–8. See also the discussion in Brigitte LeNormand, *Designing Tito's Capital: Urban Planning, Modernism, and Socialism in Belgrade* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2014).
  13. To achieve this, the 1967 legislation mandated numerous steps for all neighborhood plans, as well as an interlocking system of planning from the local

neighborhood to the republic level. At the local level, neighborhood plans required a long approval process, an array of study and design documents produced by state offices, permits for different stages of the process, and institutionalized, local participation. Larger design projects were subject to a similar array of requirements. According to the 1967 law, a regional plan for the entire republic (*regionalni prostorski program*) would link into plans for individual counties (*urbanistični programi*) that were prepared at the county level (*občine*); these, in turn, would link into smaller urban plans for towns (*urbanistični načrti*). Coupled with planning across sectors, these designs were to create well-coordinated, general development. These changes reflected other administrative transformations across the country as the previously existing “organs of the people’s power” (*organi ljudske oblasti*) were replaced with “counties” (*občine*), in the decentralizing moves of the 1960s.

14. France Prešeren, *Zbrano delo* (Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije, 1965).
15. The boundaries of what I term “greater Trnovo,” or the greater Trnovo district, have been drawn differently over time. In all writings, the historic settlements of Trnovo and Krakovo are portrayed as connected in their development and similar in their historical architecture, although distinct in their historical commercial activities. As the place-name “Trnovo” is also used for the broader area that extends far beyond the two historic settlements, I propose the term “greater Trnovo” to capture this whole. My definition of “greater Trnovo” derives from popular conceptions of the area that I noted during research in 2002, 2003, and 2009. “Greater Trnovo” as I define it is slightly smaller than the parish of Trnovo, as defined in Ivan Vrhovnik’s 1933 *The Trnovo Parish in Ljubljana*, and somewhat larger than the area defined in the 1968 urban planning documents as VS 102—Trnovo.
16. Known by the seventeenth century through fishing, in the case of Krakovo, and ferrying, in the case of Trnovo, the two also developed commercial gardening that serviced Ljubljana. Details of Krakovo’s and inner Trnovo’s history can be found in Noel Škerjanc, “Mestna četrt Krakovo v Ljubljani,” *Geografski vestnik: časopis za geografijo in sorodne vede* XLII (1970): 70–88.
17. For legibility, the Slovene titles of institutions and archival materials are edited out of the figure captions. The Slovene title of the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage, Ljubljana Regional Office is *Zavod za varstvo kulturne dediščine, Enota za Ljubljano*, while the Slovene for Collection is *fond*.
18. For details on the *GUP*, see Breda Mihelič, *Urbanistični razvoj Ljubljane* (Ljubljana: Znanstveni inštitut Filozofske fakultete v Ljubljani in Partizanska knjiga, TOZD Založba, 1983), and Branko Korošec, *Ljubljana skozi stoletja: mesto na načrtih, projektih in v stvarnosti*. (Ljubljana: Mladinska knjiga, 1991), 219.
19. For readability, the Slovene titles of documents, institutions, and archival materials are edited out in figure captions. The original Slovene title of the document is *Generalni urbanistični plan Ljubljane. Obstoječa izraba površin in določila GUPa. Podrobni načrt (regulacijski načrt) za širše mestno območje Viča in Rudnika*. The Slovene title of the Ljubljana Urban Institute is *Ljubljanski urbanistični zavod*, and of Historical Archives of Slovenia is *Zgodovinski arhiv Ljubljane*. The Slovene for collection is *fond*, for box is *tehnična enota*, and for folder is *arhivska enota*.

20. In preparing the *GUP*, planners drew on work that had been conducted in the early postwar period. For example, the *GUP* includes most of the highway system outlined in the 1953 Basic Urban Principles for a Directive Plan – Transportation (*Osnovna urbanistična načela za direktivni načrt – promet*), prepared by the Office for the Regulation of Ljubljana (*Urad za regulacijo Ljubljane*). Much of the highway system was finished by the end of the 1980s with the unfinished portions completed after 1991.
21. Zoning emerged in the United States in the 1910s and 1920s in the form of city ordinances regulating the location of industry. Well-known examples first addressed commercial laundries in San Francisco, while later ones dealt with the garment industry in New York City. The lack of zoning as known in the United States is typical of Central and East European countries, both during the socialist period and today. These countries have relied on municipal, county, state, and federal planning professionals—and the state offices they worked in—for the development of urban plans, instead of privately employed design professionals. While socialist Slovenia employed design professionals at state-run municipal, country, and republic planning offices, independent and semi-independent architects could work on individual building projects.
22. “Infrastructure” in the *GUP* refers to sewer systems, water mains, and municipal gas lines.
23. The original Slovene title of the document is *I. del dokumentacije za realizacijo predela rekonstrukcije VS-1 Trnovo*.
24. The original Slovene title of the document is *Predlog odmika zazidalnega načrta za območje VS1-Trnovo*.
25. See Vladimir (Braco) Mušič, *Urbanizem – bajke in resničnost: zapisi na robu dvajsetletnega razvoja našega prostorskega načrtovanja* (Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba, 1980) for a particularly good presentation of these topics. For a textbook format, see Andrej Pogačnik, *Urbanistično planiranje. Učbenik* (Ljubljana: Tiskovna konisija VTOZD Gradbeništvo in geodezija, Fakulteta za arhitekturo, gradbeništvo in geodezijo, Univerze Edvarda Kardelja, 1984) and a 1980s discussion of urban planning and the *soseska*, or neighborhood unit.
26. A second set of plans was proposed in 1983 through 1988. These reigned in the initial plan and focused on preserving architecturally significant elements of the area dating from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This second set of plans was based on architects’ and art historians’ successful lobbying for the importance of Jože Plečnik’s architectural works in Trnovo in the 1970s, although these efforts are not analyzed here.
27. The plans for the Trnovo reconstruction plan and related documents can be found in the Arhiv Oddelka za urejanje prostora, Mestna občina Ljubljane (Archives of the Department of Urban Planning, Municipal County of Ljubljana), no collection or box, Ljubljana, Slovenia, as these were organized in 2002, 2003, and 2010, and in multiple holdings in the Zgodovinski arhiv Ljubljane (Historical Archives of Ljubljana), including fond (collection) LJU 80/2, tehnična enota (box) 127, arhivska enota (folder) 197 and 198, as these were organized in 2014, and fond LJU 80, tehnična enota (box) 105/12, arhivska enota (folder) 273, 337, 352, and 399, as these were organized in 2010, Zgodovinski arhiv Ljubljane (Historical Archives of Ljubljana),

- Ljubljana, Slovenia. The archival record covers all aspects of planning, including analyses of architecture, economic issues, and infrastructure, as well as proposals for new housing, social services, green spaces, and municipal services.
28. Ljubljanski urbanistični zavod (Ljubljana Urban Institute), *Zazidalni načrt* (Construction Plan) (Ljubljana: Ljubljanski urbanistični zavod, 1972), 19, no box, Arhiv Oddelka za urejanje prostora, Mestna občina Ljubljane, (Archives of the Department of Urban Planning, Municipal County of Ljubljana), Ljubljana, Slovenia.
29. The original Slovene title of the document is *Zaščitno ambietno področje*.
30. Ivan Vrhovnik, *Trnovska župnija v Ljubljani* (Ljubljana: Učiteljska tiskarna v Ljubljani, 1933 [1993]), 7.
31. Vrhovnik's portrayal of the national folk mirrored writings across Europe and locally very much fell in line with early Slovene folklorists' work. Vrhovnik's gentleman's ethnography of his parish corresponds to the work of other well-educated individuals' sojourns to the countryside to educate and document the national folk at the time. Vrhovnik's work follows a classic format for semiprofessional works of the period, opening with a geographical survey before considering history and customs. In the early part of the nineteenth century, folklore scholars studied the national folk through a focus on oral expression, reflecting these scholars' philological backgrounds. The study of folklore flourished in the latter half of the nineteenth century, emerging as an academic discipline that gave itself the task of documenting the Slovene national folk and its lifeways; in this, it paralleled other projects that had a nation-defining component in the broader region. These unfolded in parallel with political movements for national self-determination. The importance of their concerns was not lost on the Austro-Hungarian government, and its response included the 1891, dual-language, twenty-four-volume survey of the monarchy's lands, *Die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie im Wort und Bild* (The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in Word and Picture). Several prominent Slovene scholars provided contributions on folklore and oral literature, including the Slovene language, songs, myths, and crafts. Essays by Gregor Krek, Frany Huband, Leo Smole, Franz Levec, Wilhelm Urbaš, Johann Murnik, and Josef Šuman can be found in Volume 24 on *Croatien und Slavonien* (Croatia and Slavonia) Volume 8 on *Kärnten und Krain* (Carinthia and Carniola), and in Volume 7 on *Steiermark* (Styria). Closer to home, by the mid-nineteenth century, Slovenes were active in collecting and documenting folklore materials, and these included popular or amateur ethnographers. Evidence of the broad-reaching interest in folklore materials can be found in newspapers of the day, such as *Slovenska čebela* (The Slovene Bee).
32. For detailed discussion and architectural analysis of Plečnik's work, see Peter Krečič, *Plečnik: The Complete Works* (New York: Whitney Library of Design Pozzetta, Marco, 1993), Marco Pozzetta, *Jože Plečnik e la scuola di Otto Wagner* (Torino: Albra, 1986), and Damijan Prelovšek, *Jože Plečnik, 1872–1957: Architectura Perennis*. Transl. from the German into English by Patricia Crampton and Eileen Martin. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997).
33. Damijan Prelovšek, Boris Podrecca, et al., *Jože Plečnik Architecte, 1872–1957* Exhibition catalogue (Paris: Éditions de Centre Pompidou/CCI, 1986), 73,

- and Breda Mihelič, *Urbanistični razvoj Ljubljane* (Ljubljana: Znanstveni inštitut Filozofske fakultete v Ljubljani in Partizanska knjiga, TOZD Založba, 1983), especially 12–14.
34. Damijan Prelovšek, Boris Podrecca, et al., *Jože Plečnik Architecte, 1872–1957* Exhibition catalogue (Paris: Éditions de Centre Pompidou/CCI, 1986), 68.
35. For reviews of Plečnik's work, see See Peter Krečič, *Plečnikova Ljubljana*, in the Series: *Slovenska dediščina* (Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba, 1991), Peter Krečič, Peter, *Plečnik: The Complete Works* (New York: Whitney Library of Design Pozzetta, Marco, 1993), Marco Pozzetta, *Jože Plečnik e la scuola di Otto Wagner* (Torino: Albra, 1986); Damijan Prelovšek, *Jože Plečnik, 1872–1957: Architectura Perennis*, trans. Patricia Crampton and Eileen Martin. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997); and Damijan Prelovšek, Boris Podrecca, et al., *Jože Plečnik Architecte, 1872–1957*. Exhibition catalogue. (Paris: Éditions de Centre Pompidou/CCI, 1986). For a discussion of Plečnik's importance for socialist-era architecture in Slovenia, see Vladimir Kulić and Maroje Mrduljaš, *Modernism In-Between: The Mediatory Architecture Of Socialist Yugoslavia* (Berlin: Jovis Verlag, 2012).
36. Marjan Mušič, "Spomin Jožetu Plečniku," *Architect* 21–22 (1957): 6–7.



# Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

# The Triconch and *Stibadium* in Late Roman and Early Christian Architecture: A Consideration of Assertions of Modernity

*Lynda Mulvin*

*Modernity is consistently in conflict with tradition elevating the struggle  
for change to the status of purveyor of meaning par excellence.<sup>1</sup>*

—Ho Heynan

## **Introduction: The Assertion of Modernity**

This chapter explores the assertion of modernity, as applied to certain aspects of late antique architecture in the Late Roman Empire and to the communication of these forms in the early Christian period as an identifiable change of status. Modernity is used here in reference to a condition of living imposed upon individuals by the socioeconomic process of modernization. A period of economic stability across the Roman Empire during the fourth century AD led to an upsurge of prosperity, which resulted in spatial and temporal changes reflected in architecture and design. There were a great many architectural innovations that aggrandized both town and countryside in the public and private sphere at this time.<sup>2</sup> Architectural precedents in Rome were disseminated from the level of the Imperial court to both urban and rural settings in the Roman provinces. The late Roman villa was traditionally a *locus* of invention, where creative ideas of monumentality and experimentation were revealed in terms of architectural innovation. Variations of plan, alterations in style, different building techniques, decoration, and ornament were all established within this architectural type. One such stylistic intervention was the redesigning of the prototype of the peristyle courtyard in late Roman domestic architecture to create a new building design.





**Figure 12.1.** Apsidal Hall, Late Roman Villa of Constantine, Nis, Mediana (Photo by Author).

The form and function of the existing plans, notably in the late Roman villa, were altered and adapted to suit changing modes of behavior and living practices. A new architectural element known as a triconch appeared that contained the innovative *stibadium* dining couch. The triconch was a trilobed structure that was added to the traditional peristyle courtyard as a new projecting element. This was placed alongside another adjoining new feature, the apsidal hall (figure 12.1). Both were redesigned elements, and when taken together, these features created a suite of rooms to include a reception area of the apsidal hall and the triconch dining hall. The combined features would redefine the entertainment requirements in the “modern” fourth century AD.

This period of fiscal reform coincided with the spread of Christianity.<sup>3</sup> With evidence for large-scale aggrandizing of existing urban fabric, building programmes in the public and private environs incorporated ecclesiastical architecture in towns and countryside in the late Roman Empire. This coincided with the establishment of early Christian communities, as Episcopal Sees led by newly appointed bishops. This affected a reorganizing of much of the existing social structure and brought further changes to the aristocracy sustained largely by wealthy landowners. Communities introduced practices that reflected changing times. In this connection, the new associated building elements of apsidal hall and triconch would also become incorporated as a progressive development of early Christian building types. This parallel step



**Figure 12.2.** Stibadium couch, Scenic Triclinium, Hadrian's Villa, Tivoli (Photo by Author).

is considered here as modernity of form, utilizing the architectural features of triconch and apsidal hall in different combinations with a functional shift from dining and entertainment activities to practices framing the new Christian liturgical requirements.<sup>4</sup>

Modernity is thereby interpreted here as a process of change, resulting in improvements and upgrades in accordance with socioeconomic conditions of modernization. The experience of modernity involves a rupture with tradition and has a profound impact on ways of life and daily habits. Furthermore, art history invariably defines modernity as a cultural condition that is essentially associated with innovation and change, when culture shifts and moves from a state of old to new by transforming that condition.<sup>5</sup> The origins of the word “modern” from the Latin *modernus*, a derivation of the term *modus*, is perceived as the manner, mode, or way to shift from one state of being to another in a transient manner. In the late antique period, this essential shift can be

viewed in many different guises and was an embodiment of a fundamental modernization of architectural practices where the transient elements centered around a change of use. In this case, entertaining and dining practices were radically reformed during the fourth century AD.

The effect of this was to “modernize” the architecture of the Roman villa and town house through an innovation in terms of design and decorative detailing. The triconch and *stibadium* combined with the apsidal hall and epitomized late Roman architectural innovation as an interpretation of modernity, as dining/living functions were radically altered after centuries of established practice (figure 12.2). From here on, these changes were then further reflected in the manners and custom of dining etiquette, especially in relation to the adjustment of the posture and arrangement of the diners who would align closely together on semicircular couches, following a carefully codified dining conduct embracing at once the intimacy of *convivium* and the spectacle of the banquet.<sup>6</sup> This change is further discussed in the second part of this chapter as it emerges in the use of the newly conceived building types that were utilized to frame the developing early Christian liturgy.

### Architectural Innovation and the Late Roman Villa

Roman domestic architecture was characterized from first to fourth centuries AD by the *domus* in the cityscape and the villa in the landscape.<sup>7</sup> In both city and country, much has been written about the triclinium as the private space located beyond the public sphere, with the emphasis on dining and entertaining as an activity reserved for family and invited guests.<sup>8</sup> To Vitruvius (vi.5) the peristyle villa combined with the triclinium was used as the main means for entertaining clients. The residential part of a Roman villa was designed as a display of the owner’s wealth. The dining room was perceived as the most important room in the residence, as it was central to the entertainment of guests and clients. In early Imperial literature the reclining posture in the *triclinium* came to be associated with the idea of a convivial *otium* and a more relaxed dining pose (Seneca *Ep.* 71.21).<sup>9</sup> Pliny the Younger (Letters V. 6, 14–20) described the importance of the view through the portico to the countryside, which was a significant element of Roman domestic imagery associated with dining and leisure.

The *triclinium* dining room evolved as the most ornate room in the house and villa, as an acknowledged means of demonstrating status through display. The dining room was adorned with wall paintings, stucco work and elaborate and ostentatious gilding, and decorative floor mosaics. It was a rectangular room that was lined with three rectangular *tri-kline* couches for dining. The triclinium means room of three couches placed in a U-shape decorated with appropriate decor emphasizing the social standing of the owner. The practice of entertaining took place in this room that functioned as a combined reception room and dining area where receiving guests and dining activities took place

together in the one richly decorated space.<sup>10</sup> The dining experience was a carefully created sensory balance between seriousness and frivolity, and reflected the objectives of the social ideal with an emphasis on status and display.

The customs and practices for banquets developed consistently throughout the Roman Imperial period, with more elaborate coded behavior evolving, to coincide with a period of prosperity in the fourth century AD, establishing a new norm for the following centuries. The emphasis focused on receiving a larger number of guests, and in essence was a gathering of diners, first in a large salon-type apsidal hall for initial recitations and afterward to dine in large groups arranged around circular tables, facing one another, in the triconch dining area, as a larger enhanced banqueting experience. The ideal being a well-organized *convivium* and a heightened cultural experience: a balance between merriment and elegance, virtues and ethics with high ideals that reached beyond the dining excesses of the past, where poets mocked and diners ate as if it was the last meal. This shaped a future where modernity was interpreted as a balance between fragility of enjoyment and life itself.

A new element, the apsidal triclinium or *oecus*, emerged firmly by the third century AD. A key element in this design feature was the reshaped couch that required an apse to accommodate its semicircular form. The replacement of the traditional rectangular dining couch with semicircular or *sigma*-shaped furniture spurs this shift in design ideas. As a new method of reclining on a *sigma*-shaped couch would replace the smaller rectangular *tri-kline* couch, called the *stibadium*, this couch could hold up to seven or eight guests. Replacing *tri-kline* or three of the old rectangular couches with three *stibadia*, a form of the triconch followed suit. It was a natural step to replace the *tri-kline* with three *stibadia* accommodated within a new building type, the tri-apse or triconch feature, as a new element of architectural invention. The *stibadium* was known in Italy as early as the first century AD, with references in the Imperial literature to the *stibadium*: Martial (*Epig.* 14.135) described how his *stibadium* could accommodate a number of guests.

The *stibadium* was originally used for outdoor banquets. The origins of this dining practice was clearly associated with the open air and was derived from the spontaneous and often transient nature of the picnic. The simple gesture of the informal picnic should be considered as an impetus for the idea of reclining in a grove of trees on a scattering of leaves, during a day of hunting or indeed during the many religious festivals that called for outdoor dining. This element quickly came to be formalized in the Imperial court: with an early example of outdoor dining dating from the second century AD seen in the innovative Scenic Triclinium, at Hadrian's Villa. This was an outdoor dining experience of large-scale proportions, where the view was incorporated into the outdoor experience and framed for guests to enjoy uninterrupted views of a lake of shimmering water: the Great Canopic pool. The mirroring of the reflections of the diners and surrounding landscape in the still water created

a powerful, sensory experience. Here architecture and design served the banquet to re-create the intimate aim of *convivium* in a ceremonial setting, with the diners packed together within the constraints of a formal banquet “en plein air.”

The popularity of dining outdoors with the desire to capture the best view became widely recognized: Sidonius Apollinaris (*Epistulae* 2,2) in the fifth century AD commented on the *stibadium* set into the new room at his villa in Avitacum; reclining in this place, he was engrossed by the view. Seasonal dining was also a factor to be considered in the development of the *stibadium* dining room where the transient nature of the picnic emerged with the possibility of moving couches from one room to another to accommodate changes in temperature and climate, from summer and winter dining rooms, identified in certain villas. Certain other factors of orientation were also a concern with the view for the diners becoming a significant factor in the architecture of the *triconch* room in the Roman villa.<sup>11</sup>

The association of the god Dionysus and the outdoor banquet and banqueting is an associate decorative element that soon follows. Decoration of works of art and contemporary material culture reflected modernity, with a noted modernization of the representations of the cult of Dionysus during this period. A great silver serving platter, the Mildenhall plate, concentrated on the theme of bacchic cult where images of Dionysus surrounded by his fellow revellers crowd the edge of the great salver.<sup>12</sup> In this connection, the Sevso ewer was decorated with Dionysiac scenes.<sup>13</sup> These great silver service dining pieces are taken to be representative of modernity in the fourth century AD. Works of art that developed similar allegorical associations and strong symbolic overtones are found in the floor mosaics and wall paintings and tapestries that adorned the additional *aula* and *triconch* dining rooms. Heroic associations of owner and guests were clearly implied as the gods depicted ranged from Dionysus, Orpheus, and other heroic demigods such as Hercules. The Villa of the Falconer, Argos, combines the decorative detailing of dining spectacle in the floor motif with the theme of Dionysus throughout. The nearly square room had a semicircular area marked out in mosaic *tesserae* with seven segments, clearly dividing the area, indicating the positioning of the segments of the *sigma* couch.<sup>14</sup>

The *stibades*, referring to leaves or foliage, suggested the outdoor dining origins of this C-shaped or *sigma*-shaped couch form.<sup>15</sup> The *sigma* couch seemed better suited to convey a message of conviviality among a group of friends in less formal situations. The *sigma* table was also a new element placed at the front of the *sigma*-shaped couch to hold food and drinks and reinforced the message of conviviality. A round circular table lent itself to gathering around as reclining guests leaned forward. The banquet scene as it developed became a stage, and the dining experience gained an air of formality, maintaining an air of entertainment and frivolity.

The decoration of these dining rooms presented another modern dimension with the suggestion that the walls were decorated with wall hangings and tapestries. In a surviving manuscript depiction of an earlier dining scene, the walls were hung with elaborate tapestry banners, which were draped and wrapped between columns. The subject matter implied was that of depictions of Dionysus, as viewed in the example of the *Vergilius Romanus* manuscript. This banqueting iconography was commonplace with earlier examples of Graeco-Roman textiles from Egypt, usually personified by Dionysus and his bacchantes and satyrs.<sup>16</sup> These tapestries as hanging objects were by their nature transient elements and could be taken out for ceremonial occasions to lend a more decorative air to a formal banquet scene.

Images of the *stibadium* abound, such as the fourth century Sevso silver plate, where there is a depiction of an outdoor dining scene with five participants arranged around a small circular table on a semicircular couch under a canopy strung between two trees.<sup>17</sup> Another “outdoor banquet” scene is found on a tomb fresco at Tomis, Romania, where guests reclined on a *stibadium* as part of a meal at a round table waited on by two attendants. The male guests eat with their right hands and lean on their left. This practice continues on into the sixth century AD, and is developed in early Christian art and Byzantine art.

The apsidal hall had a dual function coinciding with the introduction of the triconch into domestic architecture. Variations of the apse designed to hold the *stibadia* enabled the guest to face outward and capture the view. Multiples of the apse gave rise to the triconch whose introduction was closely related to the rise in use of semicircular *stibadium* dining couch. The *sigma* or C-shaped couch was placed in the apse to accommodate up to five diners. The *sigma* couch was placed in position on the floor as guided by mosaic borders. This was a tradition carried over from the earlier layout of the *tri-kline* dining area, where mosaic *tessera* marked out the location for the couches. The example cited here is from a fourth-century house in Carthage, North Africa, which confirms the position of the diners seen in the Tomis wall painting and conforms to the prevailing wider fashion in late Roman dining.<sup>18</sup>

The increased wealth across the empire during the fourth century AD and the need to accommodate more guests is viewed as a contributory factor for this development, from the *triclinia* couch, which could hold up to three people, to the semicircular couch that could hold as many as seven or eight persons. When taken in combination with the apsidal hall, *aula*, this suite of rooms created a new dining experience. The *aula* was a reception room, and the triconch dining room with three *stibadia* was for reclining and eating. There are many examples that range from the Imperial court to Roman villas: the Imperial palace of Galerius, Gamzigrad (figure 12.3), and the Palace of Constantine, Mediana, represented Imperial court architecture. There are also



**Figure 12.3.** Triconch and aula of Imperial palace of Galerius, Gamzigrad (Photo by Author).

many provincial examples among late Roman villas such as Piazza Armerina, Sicily; Littlecote, Wiltshire; Desenzano-del-Garda, and Ecija, Cordoba. This broad range of examples demonstrated the ubiquity of this modernized form and enabled the assertion of a common theme underlying this adjustment in terms of the interpretation of modernity.

Not surprisingly in terms of modernity, the change in the majority of late Roman villas, as the plan evolved from a simple peristyle courtyard at the center of the plan to an adjoining more elaborate suite of dining rooms is perceived as an alteration of existing status. The reception room was altered from a predominantly simple rectangular space to an apsidal hall and triconch dining area. The uniform symmetry of plan and Imperial associations must also be referred to here, as the apsidal hall could serve as a hall for recitations. It could also serve as an *aula* with a derivative function, that is, having a more purposeful focus where the apse framed a niche and in turn framed an individual, such as the emperor (or in his absence, a niche to frame Imperial statuary). This imagery created an association of monumentality, with the apsidal hall promoting the growth of a culture of commemoration as the apse framed a fixed *locus*. It also formed a link between the banqueters and the apse, which was designed to hold the *stibadium*. Therefore, it served to spatially increase the conceptual distance between the cult of the emperor and the setting for the imperial banquet, heightening the sense of the status of the room.<sup>19</sup>

Similarly in the urban domestic setting, the Palace of the Dux at Apollonia, Cyrenaica, demonstrates that this change in focus was also introduced in the urban setting at the court level, and was furthermore disseminated to domestic houses, where the triconch and apsidal hall also appear as combined features. Many other examples can be cited, and details from towns in Roman Britain demonstrated the diversity and reach of this modern shift in terms of taste and

of design.<sup>20</sup> The possibilities of this triconch form were explored in multiple ways when used in combination with the apsidal *aula*. Examples of this are at the multiapsed dining room of the Maison de Bacchus, Cuicul (Djemila), North Africa. More recently discovered examples are found in the Imperial palace at Cercadilla, Cordoba, and at the Palace of the Quintilli, Rome. The sites have Imperial links and serve to confirm this pattern of augmentation at the highest courtly level. These three Imperial dining halls indicate this form is utilized in urban and domestic settings as well as in rural villa examples. When taken together, with the added variation of a linking semi-circular corridor seen at Cercadilla and Montmaurin, Haute Garonne, these examples point to the dissemination of established design ideas from center to periphery, and from urban to rural landscapes.

Locating the banquet hall at the center of the building complex is a point of reference for further developing codification of monumental architecture. This is complemented by the reception rooms adjoining the sixth century AD Palace of Antiochus and Lausus adjoining the Great Palace in Constantinople. These reception rooms take the form of an extended multiapsed dining hall and their presence in the public palace, demonstrating the ubiquity and endurance of this architectural form as a lasting element in late antique architecture.<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, the image of the diner reclining would later become the reserve of the Byzantine Imperial court, where feasts were celebrated in extended dining rooms such as the *Decaenneacubita* (Triclinium of the Nineteen Couches), from the Great palace in Constantinople.<sup>22</sup>

### Funerary Usage

Late antique architects wished to express themselves in the redesigning of models and archetypes. As a result, many of the prototypes in late antiquity bear some formal relationship to the existing architecture. Variants of the theme are furthermore found in the funerary context. Roman funerary monuments were constructed with individual input and would have been rendered to the purest aesthetic of the individual designer. Whether commemorating family *in memorium* or creating a design for a member of the Imperial court, the practice of tomb building was aesthetically pure and monumentally as rich a form as was possible in architecture. Therefore the coincidence of the utilization of the apsidal element, manifest in the free-standing triconch structures, is notable. The triconch appears in different contexts in this connection, and is presented in several examples here, to further corroborate notions of the endurance of these elements, in all forms of architecture in the late antique and early Christian period.

In this regard, there is yet another inevitable association: the *refrigerium* and the celebration of the feast of the dead. Existing pagan tomb architecture found in examples from Pannonia provide detailed comparative material, as seen in the fourth century AD villa of Alsóhétenypusztá (figure 12.4). This





**Figure 12.4.** Fourth Century AD villa of Alsòhétenypusztá and associated monumental family mausoleum (Photo by Author).

villa had an associated monumental family mausoleum. The triconch form was utilized and each of the apses was used as an individual alcove, containing sarcophaghi of the individual family members.<sup>23</sup> These tombs had an ante-chamber that was a place for the living relatives to come together, to celebrate the memorial practice of the *refrigerium*, the annual celebratory feast of the dead. Other comparative tomb parallels are known from Louin in France, where the apses were replaced with a rectangular variant; and from the Via Cassia in Rome, where a trilobed tomb which has long-since dissappeared, was as recorded and presented by Renaissance antiquarian architect Pirro Ligorio.<sup>24</sup>

Monumental tomb architecture and the feast of the dead was set to become a concept, which would form a core element of the early Christian repertoire. Wall paintings decorating the catacombs in Rome and their themes are a direct response to this trend. Images can be seen in the catacomb images from San Callixto, Rome, for example, and are later formalized in the banqueting scenes of the Last Supper. The stage is set, and the *stibadium* provides the cushion-like structure on which the diners recline as participants of the last supper meal, with a *sigma*-shaped table in front of the guests. The diners look out toward the viewer. Several images and scenes such as that depicted in

wall mosaics from Sant' Apollinare in Ravenna survive from the sixth century AD, with details of cornonet-shaped bread depicted in outline, symbolic of the "broken bread" on the table, as coherent parts of the salutary meal. The mosaic scene depicts a *stibadium*, where diners are facing outward to engage the viewer, in a feast that focuses on the breaking of bread on a *sigma*-shaped or circular table in front.

The spatial commonality of the theme of the feast of the dead, which was the pagan ancestral commemorative feast day, and the associated connotations of dining in the context of the early Christian last supper, are notable. The emphasis on secular aspects of the banquet were celebrated in both, as a collective experience involving both spectator and the individual. The experience incorporated the family members as aspects of pleasure and display, and were bound up in both processes introducing illusions of temporality, memory, and the "other world" in this primary process.

The possibilities of this building type and the development of the prototype were extended to free-standing buildings of a three-sided and four-sided nature. A variation of the prototype in apsidal architecture produced the aisled tetraconch. The creation of an equilateral four-sided building with an ambulatory corridor or double shell established this form in the repertoire of late antique architecture. There are at least twenty-two known examples in the Mediterranean region from Italy and Greece, to Syria and Asia Minor. Each tetraconch structure was located at prominent positions in urban settings. This building type of the double shell tetraconch, with more notably evolved examples from Side and Perge, Pamphylia, Asia Minor, were roofed with a central dome, which functioned as secular buildings adjoined by an entrance portico. The emphasis on the apse motif presented as four equidistant elements that when combined could function in different collective ways, to frame and contain monumental sculpture and to provide a framework for the *stibadium*, as discussed earlier. This is interpreted as a visible achievement of this apsidal quatreform structure, which had at its core, ideas of framing images of memory while simultaneously conveying messages of status.

This departure indicated just how innovative the properites of this apsidal element would become, and how bound up it would become in reflections of modernity. The modernity of meaning would become a symbol of a collective, cultural memory and also would enable a shift away from static traditions toward elements that were representative of change.<sup>25</sup>

### Early Christian Usage

These late Roman architectural elements as perceived in late Roman domestic and villa architecture provided the ideal source for early Christian builders, in the context of commemorative architecture and Christian church buildings. The use of these elements expressed a modernity in architecture and defined the distinct desire on one hand, to link the Christian era to the past, and on

the other to distinguish it from the Pagan era. This temporal shift was applied to both public and private architecture, and enabled the identification of a particular response of viewer toward different structures. The commemorative association of the new modern forms of early Christian architecture preserved the values of the conceptually more distant forms from the Greco-Roman era, yet inspired new admired directions. This sense of duality of old and new, together with the preservation of the traditional spatial landscape of architectural form, was translated into newer, more commemorative motifs, in the evolving spiritual early Christian liturgy. Early Christian churches found in both East and West Roman provinces served as *topoi* of repositories of the past, the present, and the future, accessible at the Imperial level and persons of varied status.

As the great landowning families shifted power away from traditional Imperial centers, religious power was focused on the Bishop and local aristocracy.<sup>26</sup> Examples of urban governor's residences dating from the third and fourth centuries AD, such as an example cited from Gorsium, Pannonia, revealed the use of the peristyle courtyard plan and an adjoining ceremonial reception hall.

The comparisons can be further drawn with the analogy of the Bishop's palace. The status of the Bishop within the newly appointed Episcopal See would have been on a par with that of the Roman governor. Therefore, Bishop's palaces became the focus of innovations in urban building forms, as seen in the Bishop's palace at Buthrotum, Albania. This monumental structure demonstrated a continuity of usage in domestic architecture, where the triconch and apsidal hall were visible as the main entertainment elements in the plan (figure 12.5). The sixth century AD palace is a part of a complex of buildings, which includes a circular baptistery and an early Christian basilica. Other examples are found at Aphrodisias, Asia Minor, and Bosra in Syria.<sup>27</sup>

The persistence of these forms among Episcopal palace buildings ensured they endure as forms and become a lasting and dynamic feature of early Christian and Byzantine architecture. Furthermore, the combination of rooms provided a model for the apsidal chapel and adjoining triconch baptistery, which develops the architecture of the early Christian church. The notion of form as model becomes a factor of late Roman architecture and inspired forthcoming new and modern Christian design. The legacy of late Roman architecture as reflected in Early Christian designs was apparent in terms of the notions of faith and the metaphors of status and behavior, as represented in late Roman architecture. More particularly, the spectacle of dining and the carefully codified exchanges of the banquet was a measure of life, and many of these pagan ideals and connotations were evenly transferred into the evolving liturgical requirements of early Christianity. Architectural form was necessary for Christian self-determination. Civil morality was easily transferred into



**Figure 12.5.** Bishop's palace at Buthrotum, Albania (Photo by Author).

early Christian behavioral associations, and such ideas were promoted by the new architecture and were inspired by existing pagan movements and concepts.<sup>28</sup>

A parallel use and adaptation of these architectural forms in early Christian and Byzantine church architecture was also identified from the fourth to the

sixth century AD, in particular, the triconch dining area was utilized as the early Christian baptistery and martyrium, and with variations in form, for the early Christian and Byzantine church.<sup>29</sup> A change or expansion of ecclesiastical function provided the impetus for such architectural inventiveness and development. Examples abound from Constantinian Rome of early Christian churches of Sant' Agnese with a triconch *memoria* chapel adjoining the nave of the church. The rebuilding and expansion of these forms is clearly seen in the example of the construction of the early Christian church at Gamzigrad, over an earlier part of the Imperial Palace. The Imperial Palace at Gamzigrad already provided a precedent for the triconch and apsidal *aula* in combination, built during the early fourth century AD, as an expression of modernity in dining practices. Subsequently there is an example of an adaptation of these architectural elements, directly overlaying existing dining rooms, as recorded in a later sixth century AD rebuilding phase. The overlaying of a basilica and adjoining triconch *memoria* chapel is a testimony to the absorption of forms into the early Christian repertoire.<sup>30</sup>

The importance of the Christian sacrament of baptism required another building type: the baptistery. Many churches were constructed to house both a *martyrium* and a baptistery. The act of venerating a martyr saint by making a pilgrimage to the tomb was thought to ensure sanctity. These tombs were located close to the east end of the church, with an adaptation of the simple idea of dying to be reborn and baptized to be born into the Christian faith. Many of the *martyria* took the form of the existing buildings, the centralized plan drawing upon the rotunda and the triconch, and was commonly found in late fourth century AD architecture, with examples in Sopianae, Pannonia, showing two *martyria* adopting the apsidal form (figure 12.6).

As already seen, the origins of these architectural innovations can often be traced to the Imperial court; the palace of Galerius, Gamzigrad, that remained in continuous use during the early Christian period is a significant example. There, the later building of a baptistery as triconch and adjoining church as apsidal hall was a direct example of transfer of forms from pagan to Christian usage. Other examples were found at Golyamo Belovo, Stobi, and Justinian Prima, which used the quatreconch form within the developing sphere of early Christian architecture. At Perousitita, Philippopolis saw the introduction of the quatreconch plan as central to the body of the church building. Another more elaborate variation of the theme was also seen in the plan of the fifth century polyconch church at Ohrid, Macedonia. Other examples of the aisled quatreconch are found in use for the architecture of memorial churches in Roman Syria, and examples demonstrate how this plan form became lavishly adorned and located in prominent positions in the cities such as that found in Selucia Pieria, whose Bishopric of the city was attested to AD 359, the city was part of Syria Prima, and in the patriarch of Antioch. The tetraconch church at Rusafah, Syria, was also used as a baptistery. The



**Figure 12.6.** Sopiana, Pannonia showing two martyria (Photo by Author).

prominence of this building type further attests to the endurance of architectural innovation, becoming an ecclesiastical reality and as an expression of modernity, in association with the establishing of the Bishopric in this region.<sup>31</sup>

Other significant developments in early Christian and Byzantine architecture include a fusion of the triconch with the apsidal form to create a new form of eastern sanctuary using the multiple apsed version of the triconch form. At Cimitile, Naples, triconch as east end incorporates a triconch in the early Christian church dedicated to St. Felix. This was used for both congregational and memorial liturgical celebrations. This combined form became more common with examples at Mostar, where the triconch formed the east end of basilica for commemorating martyrs; and at Mesembria, Bulgaria where the basilica apse consisted of triconch chapels, with the three apses framing the statuary and the concelebrants who assembled in the church, and commemorated both the living and the dead (figure 12.7).

The fusion of design features of triconch with nave and apsidal chapels, and other variations of this prototype, suggested new interpretative functions, both congregational and memorial, which were specifically directed toward a modernity of design ideas. The building forms were translated and utilized in these symbolic ways, providing experimental blueprints and acting as early



**Figure 12.7.** Triconch church, Mesembria, Bulgaria (Photo by Author).

prototypes for Byzantine church architecture. The historicity of the architectural process when coordinated with cultural and social implications of these changes rendered the apsidal form as an inherent feature of Roman domestic architecture into a new element of early Christian and Byzantine architecture.

These adjustments pointed toward a richer understanding of the architectural and cultural process and signaled an impetus toward a modernity of form.<sup>32</sup>

### Conclusion

Modernity introduced the notion of the first fissure by breaking with the continuity of the past as social usefulness conformed to prevailing expectations. Bearing this in mind, the tracing of several strands of architectural innovation expressed through the elaboration of dining practices altered urban domestic house and late Roman villa plans when combined with new architectural forms. These new structures presented an abundance of different spatial forms, created by curve and counter curve, with variations of trajectory so that no view was subject to a single interpretation giving an impression of overt physicality. The dining experience changed to reflect social behavior, and modernity coalesced in this regard. A critical speculation of function is placed onto the plan, and the concept of spatial narrative is realized.

Innovations in Imperial architecture effected the design of vast apsidal palace halls as a first step in the development of the apsidal triconch room. There was a marked tendency in the fourth century to build onto and join these large reception halls. Multiples of the apse gave rise to the triconch. Attributing the change in dining practices to the use of the semicircular couch seems at first hard to imagine. The transition from a rectangular room to a triconch-shaped room seems unnatural, unless the apsidal section is taken as a first step in this development. The triconch room developed as a main dining area, and a single apsidal room existed as a smaller more intimate setting for fewer guests. The persistence of this form generates variations in the more elaborate multiapsed dining spaces examples, to demonstrate elaborate dining rooms, which then expanded from seven to nineteen projecting apsidal dining areas. Furthermore, the theme is manifest in the freestanding triconch tomb and the aisled tetraconch. The vaulting solutions of these more elaborate spaces would engender new inventive schemes for parallels in early Christian architecture.

The modernization of this form of rectangular dining area to the triconch and quatreconch variation of architectural design became an essential component in early Christian *mausolea*, in association with the symbol of the Holy Trinity. The persistence of these forms translated into another interpretive sphere, as baptisteries, *martyria*, and churches became a feature of early Christian architecture. These were viewed as an essentially modern architectural form, becoming an impetus and locus for early Christian spiritual development.

The temporal movement in architecture from the domestic to the ecclesiastical can be charted in this instance against the backdrop of achieving modernity. Physically, as form was disseminated outward, beyond the center to the periphery, monumental architecture was read more specifically in design terms as a reflection of individuality. In this connection, the continuity and status



of architecture becomes a determining factor, as ideas from Imperial court palace architecture were endorsed in urban and rural settings and locations. By the same token, it should be appreciated that the addition of ornament together with iconography in terms of decorative detailing increased the level of symbolism and objectivity in the architectural discourse. The interpretive notions of these building forms were identified as a working reflection of the owner, whether at Imperial level of patron or at a personal level of artist and architect, as meaning and function transferred from one to the other, from pagan to early Christian. In terms of architectural purity, funerary architecture was deemed more subjective, yet as a typology it contained buildings defined by having a practical and memorializing function. This was overtly connected to commemorative architecture and was an enduring legacy with a more complex and overt interpretive theme apparent.<sup>33</sup>

The notion of repetition is a defining feature of modernity. In the many examples supplied and explored in the ideas proposed in this chapter, the continuity of plan in buildings is connected over temporal boundaries, as variations of archetypes. The shift of parallel ideals from late Roman into early Christian architecture, as well as the recurrence of design elements and concepts reflects former well-known and familiar behavior.

Finally, the evidence here suggests that the continuity of form and function does define modernity, mentioned at the outset of this chapter, as a shift away from an existing state and from tradition, yet also as a struggle to change to a new state of form.<sup>34</sup> Therefore, modernity was borne out of changes to architectural form, in terms of the triconch and *stibadium* in late Roman and early Christian architecture. What is more, these elements in architecture should be considered as distinct reflections of modernity in their own right.

### Notes

1. H. Heynan, *Architecture and Modernity: A Critique* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2000), 1–20.
2. P. Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle: Wealth, the Fall of Rome and the Making of Christianity in the West 350–550AD* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012), 145–46.
3. P. Brown, *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity: Towards a Christian Empire* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992).
4. L. Mulvin, *Late Roman Villas in the Danube-Balkan Region, BAR Int. Ser. 1064* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2002).
5. See note 1, Heynan, 1–20.
6. K. Dunbabin, *The Roman Banquet. Images of Conviviality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 170–4.
7. J. T. Smith *Roman Villas: A Study in Social Structure* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997); S. Ellis “Power Architecture and décor, How the Roman Aristocrat Appeared to His Guests,” in *Roman Art in the Private Sphere: New Perspectives on the Architecture of the Domus, Villa and Insula*, ed. E. Gazda (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991), 117–37 and

- I. Lavin, "The House of the Lord: Aspects of the Role of the Palace *triclinia* in the Architecture of Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages," *Art Bulletin* 44 (1962): 1–29.
8. R. Lawrence and A. Wallace-Hadrill, *Domestic Space in the Roman World: Pompeii and Beyond* JRA Supp. Ser. No. 22 (1997), 155–95.
9. M. B. Roller, *Dining Posture in Ancient Rome, Bodies Value and Status* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006), 18–19.
10. S. Ellis, "Classical Reception Rooms in Romano-British Houses," *Britannia* 26 (1995): 163–78.
11. S. Cosh, "Seasonal Dining Rooms in Romano-British Houses," *Britannia* 32 (2001): 219–42.
12. For details on the Mildenhall treasure, see D. Parrish, "A Mythological Theme in the Decoration of Roman Dining Rooms: Dionysus and His Circle," *Revue Archéologique Nouvelle Série*, Fasc. 2 (1995): 307–32. esp. 318.
13. See note 13 above D. Parrish, 319.
14. G. Åkerström-Hougen, *The Calendar and Hunting Mosaics of the Villa of the Falconer in Argos, A Study in Early Byzantine Iconography* (Athens: Swedish Institute, 1974).
15. W. Slater, *Dining in a Classical Context* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991), 18–19.
16. K. Weitzmann, ed., *Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century*, catalogue of the exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York: 1977), 228 and see note 13, D. Parrish, 314. See also H. E. Winlock, "A Roman tapestry and Roman Rug," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 27, no. 6 (1932): 157–9.
17. M. Mango, "Seuso treasure," *JRA Supp.*, 12, no. 1 (1994): 1–47.
18. See note 13, D. Parrish, 316–32.
19. B. Tamm, *Auditorium and Palatium, A Study of Assembly Rooms of Roman Palaces during the First Century B.C to the First Century A.D* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1963) and L. Mulvin, "Tor Marancia and Centocelle, a comparative context," in *Roman Villas around the Urbs, Interaction with landscape and environment—Proceedings of a Conference held at the Swedish Institute Rome, Sept. 17–18, 2004* (Rome: Swedish Institute, 2005), 1–10.
20. See note 10, Ellis for details.
21. E. W. Haley, "A Palace of Maximianus Herculius at Cordoba?" *Zeitschrift für papyrologie und epigraphik*, Band 101 (1994), 208–14. T. F. Matthews, *The Art of the Byzantium: Between Antiquity and the Renaissance* (New York: Abrams, 1998), 75. For further details on the Imperial Palace in Constantinople see K. Dark, ed., *Secular Buildings and Everyday Life in the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford: Oxbow, 2004) and J. M. Featherstone, "The Great Palace as Reflected in the *De Ceremoniis*," in F. A. Bauer (eds) *Visualisierungen von Herrschaft, BYZAS 5* (Veröffentlichungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Istanbul; Auflage: Broschierte, 2006), 47–61.
22. See note 6, Dunbabin, 202 and R. Krautheimer, "Die Decanecubita in Konstantinople," *R. quart supp.* iii (1966), 195–9.
23. E. Toth, "Die spätromische festung von Iovia und Ihr gräberfeld," *Antike Welt* 1 (1989): 32 and for further details see M. Biró, "Roman Villas in Pannonia," *ActaArch Hung* 26 (1974): 49. For more detailed discussion see Jas Elsner,

- Art and the Roman Viewer: the Transformation of Art from the Pagan World to Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
24. N. Duval, "Un curieux mausolée du 4<sup>e</sup> siècle en Pannonie et le mausolée de Louin dans le Poitou," *Bulletin Monumental* (1990), 205–7 and for further details see I. Campbell, *Ancient Roman Topography and Architecture*, Vol. 1 (London: Royal Collection Enterprises, 2013), 174–6.
  25. W. E. Kleinbauer, "The Double-shell Tetraconch Building at Perge in Pamphylia and the Origins of the Architectural Genus," *Dumbarton Oaks* 41 (1987): 277–85.
  26. R. MacMullan, *Christianity and Paganism in the Fourth to the Eight Centuries AD* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007).
  27. L. Mulvin, "Late Roman Villas in the Danube Balkan Region and the Evidence for Development of Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture," *Zalaizeg* 11 (2002): 32–36.
  28. E. Thomas, *Monumentality and the Roman Empire Architecture and the Antonine Age* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 242–3.
  29. W. E. Kleinbauer, "Antioch, Jerusalem and Rome: The Patronage of Constantius II and Architectural Invention," *Gesta* 45, no. 2 (2006): 125–45.
  30. See note 28, Mulvin, 36.
  31. W. E. Kleinbauer, "The Origins and Function of the Aisled Tetraconch Churches in Syria and Mesopotamia," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 27 (1973): 89–114.
  32. A. M. Sankovitch, "Structure/Ornament and the Modern Figuration of Architecture," *The Art Bulletin* 80, no. 4 (Dec., 1998): 687–717.
  33. Thomas, *Monumentality and the Roman Empire Architecture*, 179–204.
  34. Heynan, *Architecture and Modernity*, 1–20.

## When Art History Was Global: Helen Gardner's *Art through the Ages* in 1948

Barbara Jaffee

Contemporary art practices are global, most observers agree.<sup>1</sup> But can the same be said of art history? Although art historians struggle with this question, architecture historian Mark Jarzombek, author of the 2007 *A Global History of Architecture*, notes simply that the global moment has already happened—an effect of the forces of modernization felt everywhere in the twentieth century outside of the privileged arena of fine art.<sup>2</sup> The real problem, according to Jarzombek, is that the narratives of art history, fitted first and foremost to the historicizing requirements of the nineteenth-century European nation-state, are unable to accommodate the modernized, non-Western nationalisms that emerged in the wake of World War II. Conflating the “timelessness” of traditional non-Western art with the timelessness of the global contemporary art history protects its franchise (what Jarzombek calls the “timefullness of the modern”) by laboring in service of a latent antimodernism; in Jarzombek’s succinct formulation, “Nothing has been better for the global expansion of art history than the globalized claim for a local resistance to globalization.”

This assertion is interesting to me, a historian of the history of art history, because Jarzombek links the discipline’s recent embrace of culturally pluralist, particularistic histories and postcolonialist methodologies with its continued devaluing of such ahistorical cultural products as global modernist architecture and design. The seeds of this dilemma were sown much earlier, of course, perhaps even in the discipline’s founding document, Johann Joachim Winckelmann’s 1764 “History of Ancient Art,” a work that assumes both geographic and aesthetic universality despite being extraordinarily partial—focused only on Rome and applying a highly partisan standard of taste. It is a paradox codified by the philosopher G. W. F. Hegel in the early nineteenth century as “universal” art history: a history of the progressive revelation of an aesthetic ideal in which European painting just happens to take pride of place.<sup>3</sup>

Thanks to Hegel (and to the many histories of art produced in his image), we know that an art history focused on a reductive teleology looks a lot like cultural imperialism. Attempts at correctives leave the discipline struggling for coherence—caught between the Scylla of World Art Studies—rocky shoals upon which art history’s quixotic quest for geographic completeness is sure to founder—and the Charybdis of Visual Culture Studies, an endless vortex of objects, images, and visualizations that threaten to consume the discipline should it open its material field of inquiry to such a vast array. Yet, what would it look like to embrace both cultural pluralism *and* modernist cosmopolitanism, as Jarzombek suggests? It would look, I submit, very much like the third edition of *Art through the Ages*, a work written by the University of Chicago-trained art historian Helen Gardner (with the assistance of her School of the Art Institute of Chicago colleague, Kathleen Blackshear, and her student, the photographer Harold Allen) and published posthumously in 1948.<sup>4</sup>

### Surveying the World Horizontally

In this unprecedented—and today virtually unknown—volume, Gardner announced her intention to survey the world horizontally rather than vertically, thereby avoiding what she described as “our Europocentric [*sic*] attitude towards art.” Her method was, for its time, ingenious. Gardner took the four, great chronological periods that have dominated the writing of human (i.e., Western) history, Ancient, Medieval, Renaissance, and Modern, and used them against their narrative grain—presenting hefty cross-sections of the simultaneous rather than the relentless forward march of the sequential. In contrast with what Jarzombek calls “the recent spate of textbooks that maintain the linear narrative of European art and then append free-standing chapters on Asia and Africa” (and long before the publication of his own global survey, or those of David Summers or John Onians), Gardner provided her readers with an ecstatic vision in which “medieval” Chinese artifacts commingled with the “Renaissance” art of Northwest Coast Indians, the whole culminating optimistically in a chapter devoted to the international “Arts of the Machine.”<sup>5</sup>

The book, better known as *Gardner’s Art through the Ages* (the proprietary retitling began with the fourth edition, revised by Sumner McKay Crosby and the Yale Department of Art in 1959), probably enters the collective memory of American art history students with its fifth edition, revised by Horst de la Croix and Richard G. Tansey and published in 1970.<sup>6</sup> But its actual history is much longer. First published in 1926 by Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, Helen Gardner’s *Art through the Ages* was, if not the first single-volume history of art in the United States, it is the first to achieve widespread popularity. It went through 3 editions and 39 printings between 1926 and 1948 for a total of 446,479 copies, of which 97,196 were sold in bookstores and the rest, 349,283, as textbooks.<sup>7</sup>

Gardner's embedded-ness in the circumstances of mid-twentieth-century Chicago is not incidental to the story of this text. The inspiration for *Art through the Ages* was the survey of art history created by Gardner for her students at the School of the Art Institute of Chicago beginning in 1920. Despite its current reputation for having been a conservative Beaux Arts–style academy, the Art Institute of Chicago was, in the early twentieth century, a pioneer in integrated, industrial, and fine arts education.<sup>8</sup> Founded in 1878 as the Chicago Academy of Fine Arts out of the ashes of an older, artist-run organization, the Art Institute of Chicago (AIC), and its School (the name was changed in 1882) was the project of a group of businessmen convinced that arts education was vital to the commercial success of their city. Their new School of the Art Institute of Chicago (SAIC) was eclectic in its pedagogy. It offered academic life drawing classes alongside vigorous technical training: Saturday and evening classes in ornamental design, wood-carving, frescoing, mosaic, and stained glass attended throughout the 1880s mainly by men engaged in decorative arts and design and in Chicago's vast commercial lithography industry. Applied arts courses would be fully integrated with the academic day program by 1897, the year that programs in what were described as the “modern arts” of illustration and advertising were introduced as well.<sup>9</sup>

When the progressive educator George William Eggers was elected acting director of the Art Institute of Chicago and its School in August 1916, he moved quickly to make the SAIC a center for “scientific” art pedagogy—part of a national, patriotic drive to reform the tastes of working-class families. Eggers' vision emerged in full force in SAIC's catalogue for 1918–1919, which shows the new program was based on a division into three parts: an introductory program called the Lower School, which offered basic courses in drawing and design to all untrained students; a Middle School in which design, normal and commercial art, illustration, and crafts were pursued side-by-side with elementary painting and sculpture; and an Upper School, in which advanced students pursued painting and sculpture in an Atelier system with recognized masters. “This reorganization,” Eggers wrote, “recognizes not only the responsibility which the art school owes to American industry, but takes full cognizance of the responsibility of the school to the individual whose vocation must render him a livelihood.”<sup>10</sup>

### An Efficient Education

Art history entered SAIC as part of Eggers' efforts to rationalize its curriculum. In hiring Helen Gardner in 1920, Eggers was following the view of renowned Arts and Crafts designer Ernest Batchelder, who in 1910 had called for designers to study history, geography, archeology, and ethnology, stressing the streamlined efficiency of earlier epochs in choosing the “line of least resistance in the development of art forms.”<sup>11</sup> By 1926, the year Gardner's book appeared, art history was described in the School's catalogue in unabashedly

compensatory terms, as “an intensive study of certain phases of art so presented as to be of particular value to students as their training becomes more specialized.”<sup>12</sup> To borrow the Machine Age vernacular, *Art through the Ages* represented the singular and authoritative position from which the automated assembly line of modernized art education acquired its meaning.

Helen Gardner was more than prepared to meet this challenge, as her formative educational experiences were a close encounter with both the elite *and* the popular practices of art history. Born March 17, 1878, in Manchester, New Hampshire, Gardner graduated from the University of Chicago with a degree in Latin and Greek in 1901 and became a teacher and later assistant principal at the Brooks Classical School. In 1915, Gardner was accepted as a graduate fellow in the art history department of the University of Chicago. Although the university had offered neither practical courses in art nor courses in art history when it first opened in 1892, the reform-minded charge of its first president, William Rainey Harper, was to focus on the relationship between industrialism and democracy in the urban setting. This attracted a faculty of scholars interested in the sociological dimension of art and aesthetics.<sup>13</sup>

Early offerings in art history at Chicago (beginning in 1902) drew on faculty whose primary appointments were with other departments, notably archeology and the Semitic languages and literature. They also included courses on “modern,” that is, Renaissance and after, and American art taught by an artist, George B. Zug, a graduate of the university. By the time Gardner arrived, however, Zug was gone, and the young art historian Richard Offner was teaching the modern portion of Chicago’s historical sequence.<sup>14</sup> Offner, a specialist in Florentine painting, was steeped in the tradition of psychological aesthetics and formalism that had marked the birth of art history as a modern academic discipline in Germany during the 1880s and 1890s.<sup>15</sup>

Another recent addition to Chicago’s art history department faculty was Walter Sargent, artist, progressive educator, and former director of drawing and manual training for the city of Boston.<sup>16</sup> That there is a significant connection between Gardner and Sargent is clear from her acknowledgment of him in the first edition of *Art through the Ages*. Even as she continued her research with Offner as the recipient of a fellowship for further study in 1917–1918 (with the intention of completing the PhD), Gardner was elected in 1920 to the executive committee of the Renaissance Society, an organization founded at the University of Chicago around the time of the Armory Show. In its lectures and exhibitions, the young society (today recognized as a leading forum for the exhibition of innovative contemporary art) expressed its commitment to modernist ideals through an active exploration of Japanese art. It was there, if not before, that Gardner encountered Sargent, president of the Society from 1918 to 1920. Gardner never finished the PhD—by the time Offner left Chicago for Harvard, Gardner was already teaching at SAIC—but she audited

Sargent's "Color in Decorative Art," an education class offered through the University of Chicago's art history department, in 1922.

Like his colleagues at the SAIC, Sargent saw World War I as an opportunity. In an essay written for the federal government's biennial study of art education in 1918, Sargent observed:

Art education related to industries has been prominent in America for many years. It is receiving fresh impetus at present from the prospect that, after the war, the United States will have to depend upon its own resources more than in the past, not only for designers but also for styles of design. A kind of originality must be developed that can produce things which are not only new but fine in quality.<sup>17</sup>

His ideas were put to real test in 1924, when he was named professor and chair of the University of Chicago's newly reformed and renamed Department of Art. As chair of a department in which history, theory, and practice commingled, Sargent presided, in the three years before his death in 1927, over a program that reflected the most progressive factions of modernism in Chicago—a remarkably diverse collection of designers, artists, and art historians.<sup>18</sup>

Implicit in the name Sargent gave his new department was his belief that the values and order of art were independent of and separate from any particular instance. On April 17, 1927, the following notice appeared in the *Chicago Tribune*:

Plans to establish the University of Chicago as a center of artistic influence . . . will be presented on Thursday by Walter Sargent, chairman of the art department, to members of two women's organizations which have been leaders in furthering an appreciation of the fine arts . . . Mr. Sargent . . . has four main objectives in his program: to offer all students an opportunity to develop an intelligent enjoyment of the world's artistic inheritance; to reach a much wider sphere by training teachers in the history, theory, and practice of the arts who will be able to present art in such a way that it will enter into the daily life of students; to offer some experience with the materials of art; and to forward appreciation of industrial art and to cooperate with the rapidly growing interest in giving to possessions and surroundings greater charm and distinction.<sup>19</sup>

Although plans for Sargent's Institute foundered with his death, a commitment to "present art in such a way that it will enter into . . . daily life" is what Gardner learned from Sargent; it is the lesson of *Art through the Ages* as well.

Part of a generation of scholars and progressive educators who sought to marry their commitment to industry and the applied arts with an emphasis on visual form as a unique and significant vehicle for understanding, Gardner was, in a word, a formalist—in the once-penetrating sense that insisted that



the aesthetic was a branch of knowledge, albeit intuitive.<sup>20</sup> In supplying the unifying narrative for an increasingly fragmented and specialized educational discourse, Gardner insisted that art—all art—is the skilled manipulation of materials for socially useful and/or decorative purposes. Never for its own sake, according to Gardner, art always (at least ought to be) fully integrated into society. In her words,

The statue may be a decoration of a building, an integral part of the structure and determined by it. The painting frequently decorates a great wall surface or the page of a manuscript and much of its composition and color is determined by its use and its technique. The stained-glass plays its part in the whole interior ensemble and is not merely an example of the minor arts.<sup>21</sup>

She lamented, in 1926, that such utility seemed to have eluded the contemporary period. Describing hers as a “transitional age,” Gardner explained,

Art has become segregated from the affairs of life as something to be treated with indifference, or disregarded, or as a luxury, something to be indulged in, upon occasions, or as a means of ostentation. It is the age of the museum and the exhibition—both unnatural.<sup>22</sup>

Two exceptions for Gardner in 1926 were contemporary Russian art, by which she meant the ensemble work of the Ballet Russe, and the collective activity associated with the creation of the modern skyscraper. She praised architects in general for their “logical constructive thinking.”

Gardner’s 1936 edition continued to explore this theme in a completely new section entitled “Modern Art: The Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries,” comprising chapters on France, the United States, and “The Art of Today.” In the revised text, Gardner found the true modernism of American architecture in such unabashedly anonymous, industrial forms as grain elevators, and reserved her highest praise for painters who revived archaic or traditional forms—contemporary indigenous artists of the American Southwest, and those engaged in the Mexican mural movement (she also mentioned the public face of contemporary painting represented by Thomas Hart Benton’s murals for the New School for Social Research and John Norton’s for the *Chicago Daily News Building*).

### Gardner’s New World Order

What links these otherwise opposed impulses—industrialized functionalism in architecture with “primitivizing” or ethnic styles in painting—is Gardner’s celebration of these activities as instances of contemporary artists operating successfully within mainstream social and economic systems. The book closed with an enthusiastic discussion of developments in the industrial arts (textiles,

glass, typography, etc.), which, according to Gardner, indicated that art was in the process of being “reintegrated into the cultural fabric.” Gardner’s *Art through the Ages*, in other words, was well on its way by 1936 to creating a canon of modern art that disrespected European painting in favor of the “beauty of a gauge and a seaplane.”<sup>23</sup>

However, when Gardner’s faith in the transcendent powers of form met the political realities of World War II, the results were extraordinary: “Because today and only today, the concept of one total world inescapably thrusts itself forward,” Gardner wrote in 1948, “I have been motivated in preparing this third edition of *Art through the Ages*, both in the incorporation of new material and in the reorganization of the old, by a desire to present a world panorama of art.” As outlined in her brief preface:

*Part One* presents a panorama of the arts in ancient times and shows how great cultures arose and evolved on all the continents, largely in isolation yet with some vital contacts that affected the forms of expression. *Part Two* continues the panorama through the Middle Ages when the contacts between Asia, Northern Africa, and Europe became more pronounced and a lively intercourse brought about mutual exchanges of ideas, motifs, and forms. *Part Three* shows the Renaissance as the period when the world began to shrink at an ever accelerating rate. This was the age of discovery, exploration, and colonization. It witnessed the transplanting of European arts to large sections of the world, most important of which was the hitherto unknown western hemisphere, where the conflict or assimilation of European arts with the indigenous American arts transformed them into American-European styles. *Part Four* reveals the world, through unbelievable advances in transportation and communication, as one world in which the nations are becoming acquainted with each other, are learning from each other, and are to a considerable extent producing works of art which, despite national divergences, come within an international framework.<sup>24</sup>

It is no coincidence that the “one world” of which Gardner spoke in her introduction was the resonant title of corporate lawyer and progressive Republican Wendell L. Willkie’s memoir of his 1942 travels to the Middle East, the Soviet Union, and China.<sup>25</sup> Willkie had challenged Franklin D. Roosevelt unsuccessfully for the presidency in 1940, a liberal internationalist running as the candidate of a conservative, isolationist party. His vision of international cooperation became a shibboleth of liberal internationalism in the immediate postwar era, as the nuclear devastation of Nagasaki and Hiroshima, Japan, deepened the urgency with which liberals called for global unity. Two weeks after the atomic bombing, editor Freda Krichwey was insisting in *The Nation*, an independent journal of politics and culture, that a world government to control nuclear weapons was the only means of saving civilization from

annihilation.<sup>26</sup> Chicago, Gardner's home, became a center for the world government movement with the formation of the Committee to Frame a World Constitution at the University of Chicago in November 1945.<sup>27</sup>

Gardner rehearsed in spectacular fashion Willkie's utopian vision of the future world fusion in the final chapter of her 1948 edition, entitled "The Arts of the Machine." Here she evoked the thrill of "a streamlined railroad car" or airplane, and the delights of "the mechanized kitchen" and "simple, gaily colored gadget from the five-and-ten." Even some painters were applauded for "designing machine-made articles as well as ballet-settings" and "reaching out into the fields of weaving, ceramics, and glass," though the exclusive practices of the majority Gardner continued to dismiss as "devoid of function." Gardner concluded in unequivocal terms that the present age would bear witness to the emergence of a new, unified style based in science and technology.<sup>28</sup>

### Relativizing Cultures

As unusual as Gardner's book appears to us today, it is not *sui generis*. According to Ulrich Pfisterer, there were at least three scholarly traditions represented within early nineteenth-century Germanic art history: the "evolutionists" (Hegelians opposed to functionalist materialism, who formulated histories of ornamentation that demonstrated the "degeneration" of art from the naturalistic to the abstract); the "nationalists" (closely related to the evolutionists, and their concept of ever more perfect stages of human development reinforced nationalist and racist ideologies); and the relativists, who promoted research into the art of all cultures without any comparative evaluation. The "relativists" marshaled the insights of human psychology to argue for generally valid laws of artistic creation. The respected art historian Alois Reigl became a relativist when, in his *Late Roman Art Industry*, 1901, he introduced a psychological term, artistic "volition," and, at the same time, abandoned normative aesthetics. In 1907, August Schmarsow summarized the meaning of human psychology and anthropology for a new science of art that refused to differentiate between "art" and other cultural artifacts.<sup>29</sup>

These efforts to link human physiology and culture were prompted by the philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder's theory of expression, introduced around 1800. Herder assumed that a subjective and animate relationship exists between humans and all forms of sensuous appearance. Empathy, as Herder's elaborated theory came subsequently to be known, is an aesthetics of content, but one that relies on effects that are primarily formal and psychological.<sup>30</sup> Gardner required that her own students create diagrams of canonical artworks as a means of demonstrating their understanding of the principles of design. The purpose of these exercises, she wrote in 1940, was to ensure that the art student

interested vitally in the immediate present, [would] find in the observable formal elements a common denominator for present

and past . . . The primitive method of dissecting a form of nature and reassembling the parts and several aspects of one part according to aesthetic requirements differs but little from the method of Picasso and Bracque [*sic*]. In fact, it was basic in the work of the ancient Egyptian painter.<sup>31</sup>

Marking an image with a few bold lines in order to suggest certain “truths” about its internal structure was once as common to the teaching and practice of art and its history in the United States as diagramming a sentence was to a grammar school education. An early antecedent is the comparative method of formal analysis introduced into the discipline by the late-nineteenth-century Swiss-German art historian Heinrich Wölfflin, whose juxtapositions of images were meant to emphasize stylistic difference. It was in the context of a more or less official campaign to make art responsive to the needs of industry that diagramming became a key tool of art pedagogy in the United States—a campaign that succeeded in introducing an array of diagrammatic exemplars and recipes for pictorial design into American art and design education.<sup>32</sup>

Gardner used her students’ diagrams as supplements to a text that sought to make visible to viewers the means by which the artist engaged their empathy. Here, for example, is her description of “The Wedding Dance,” 1566, by Pieter Bruegel the Elder:

The roistering peasant life of his own environment absorbed Bruegel, and whatever the theme, its vivid reality, at first glance so casually natural, is not the recording of visual perceptions, . . . but the marshaling of them into an abstract design which by distilling the merely received renders it far more effective to the eye. Particularly is this true in handling a large crowd, as in *The Wedding Dance*. The individuals in the foreground, while retaining all the actualities of type, costume, and environment, at the same time are drawn with such economy and emphasis at vital points that each becomes an abstract expression of the rhythm of the dance. The group as a whole is firmly knit into interlocking curves in depth—movements that are carried partly by line and partly by shapes and color areas—which are held and accented by static trees and standing figures.<sup>33</sup>

Gardner’s evocation of “actualities” that become “an abstract expression” is a striking formulation, although Gardner likely had in mind the compositional theories of American art critic Sheldon Cheney, whose survey *Expressionism in Art* appeared in 1934, rather than any presentiment of abstract expressionism.<sup>34</sup> Nevertheless, the coincidence is telling, as is the peculiar diagram that accompanied the image and its description in the text (figure 13.1). As I have argued elsewhere, the aesthetic effect of diagrammatic pedagogies on American art was considerable. Artists Robert Henri and George Bellows, for example, built their progressive forms of realism on abstract scaffolding



**Figure 13.1.** Figure 543a in Helen Gardner, *Art through the Ages* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1948), 543.

supplied by the compositional schemes of art educators Hardesty Maratta and Jay Hambidge. Pioneering abstractionists Georgia O’Keeffe and Manierre Dawson created austere arrangements inspired by design theorists Arthur Dow and Denman Ross. Thomas Hart Benton passed along his nostalgia for the optimistic imagery of “scientifically managed” aesthetics to his best-known student, Jackson Pollock.<sup>35</sup>

### **The Return to Normalcy**

Sadly, little of Gardner’s utopian scheme survived the 1959 revision of her text accomplished by Yale University’s art history department under the direction of Sumner Crosby. The imperialistic “universalism” of this much better known edition knowingly recapitulated the divisions of the new world order, and represented a return to “normalcy” in its rejection of globalism, reinstatement of traditional hierarchies, and reinforcement of temporal and spatial boundaries. As Crosby wrote in his preface:

Although Miss Gardner’s organization of the Third Edition provided many opportunities for interesting comparisons and made it possible to study in adjacent chapters what was occurring in different parts

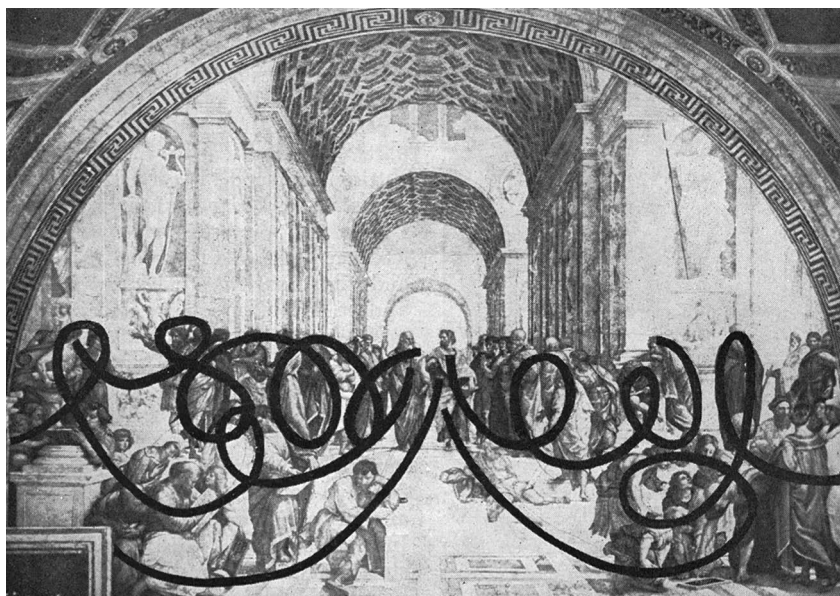
of the world during more or less the same historic periods, this organization often obscured the intrinsic qualities and especially the development of the different styles. As our table of contents indicates, we have presented the arts of different periods and countries in a more normal order.<sup>36</sup>

“Normal” meant the imposition of four major divisions, “Ancient,” “European,” “Non-European,” and “Modern.” In this way, the presumably distinctive stylistic coherence of European art was preserved, but at considerable expense: not only would the anonymously produced objects so important to Gardner’s discussion no longer appear side-by-side with works bespeaking individual genius, as traditional, canonical works were reinscribed into the realm of pure art, but the modern, industrial design that had been the goal of Gardner’s insistent teleology simply disappeared (a new chapter on the “artistic history” of photography took the place of Gardner’s discussion of the industrial arts).

Passionate though it may be, Gardner’s is simply not the model on which postwar art history built its narratives; it has even less to do with the transcendentalist terms by which abstract expressionist painting emerged eventually (though not inevitably) as the paradigmatic postwar avant-garde.<sup>37</sup> Any explanation must acknowledge the political reality that the severing of “high” and “low” (the so-called Great Divide of twentieth-century culture) was the product of arguments in the 1940s and 1950s that painting and sculpture were privileged forms, ideally suited to furthering the progress of human spirit—and thus the focus of the American project of “saving” Western civilization from itself.<sup>38</sup>

Crosby and his colleagues reworked Gardner’s diagrammatic impulse as well, replacing her empathetic tactility with an iconic visuality. Crosby’s introduction to the fourth edition features the paradigmatic example. In a single, breathtaking conceptual leap, he links two works widely separated in time and space—one a masterpiece of the Italian Renaissance, Raphael’s *School of Athens*, the other a contemporary work, *Number 29* of 1950 by the American abstract expressionist Jackson Pollock. According to the text, “It is [a] function of the artist to guide our eyes as we look at a painting, to bring order into what otherwise might be chaos. This order we speak of as the *composition*, or design, of a painting.” In a passage that begins with reference to *School of Athens* and concludes by directing the reader to an illustration of the Pollock, the authors opine, “Sometimes this order is immediately apparent and we ‘read’ the picture easily; in other instances we may have to search out the order if we are to understand the artist’s message.”<sup>39</sup>

Yet, it is the eloquence of their visual analogy that surely makes the “truth” of the comparison unassailable. The image of the Raphael, captioned “A diagrammatic rendering of rhythmical relationships which are one of the unifying factors in the composition of the *School of Athens*,” boasts a forceful overlay—a heavy, black line that loops and swells in dramatic fashion as it makes its way



**Figure 13.2.** Figure 0–22 in Sumner McKay Crosby, et al, *Gardner's Art through the Ages* (New York, Harcourt Brace, 1959), 23.

across the painting's horizontal axis (figure 13.2). This line serves not only to identify the so-called rhythmical relationships claimed by the text; it offers visible evidence of a connection between the Raphael and the Pollock that doesn't otherwise exist. As many have demonstrated, abstract expressionist canvases played a significant role in Cold War politics.<sup>40</sup> Therefore, seeing Pollock as part of a universal, humanist art history served an important propaganda purpose. However, smoothing the path from propaganda tool to universal icon is only the most immediate of jobs performed by Crosby's diagram. The visual analogy also works to elide the glaring inconsistencies in art history's own recent history.

### A Cautionary Tale

Gardner's allegiance to the relativist (as opposed to evolutionist or nationalist) tradition of nineteenth-century universalism is clear: her 1948 *Art through the Ages* offered an ambitious historiography of world art; it rejected Euro-centric narrative; and it characterized the appearance of individualism in art as "decline." Hers should be a model for today's globalists, but instead, in its near invisibility, the 1948 edition of *Art through the Ages* is a cautionary tale. The unequal power relations that produced the deeply Eurocentric concept of "Art" also produced such irreconcilable divisions as that between so-called high art and "low," between architectural history and the history of art (as

Jarzombek points out), and even between the history of art in Chicago and a history of modernism based on New York.

Chicago's privileged position here is more than an effect of the project's origins in the work of Chicagoan Helen Gardner. Focusing on circumstances in Chicago provides insights into the formation of modern art that are far removed from narratives that emerged to explain events in New York. The story of the development of modern art in New York is largely the story of European stylistic precedents culminating in the transcendent synthesis of abstract expressionism. But the story of modern art in Chicago turns out to be a story of the development of the city as a major center for "abstract" architecture and expressionist painting—the very forms, technological invention, and archaic revival, praised by Gardner for their social utility starting in 1936.<sup>41</sup>

It would take the end of the Cold War to produce as inclusive a canon as Helen Gardner's again. Although a major revision of *Gardner's Art through the Ages* in 1970 produced the core of the text celebrated today for its "objectivity" and breadth, those authors made no pretext of disrupting, as Gardner did in 1948, the traditional art historical story of stylistic development or of extending their evenhandedness to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (the discussion of which was dominated by individual artists presented within the narrative as visionaries and innovators). New survey texts introduced in the 1970s reflected methodological changes in the discipline, particularly those associated with Marxist or social history, yet their interference with the traditional canon was minimal. It was not until the multicultural approach of Marilyn Stokstad's 1995 *Art History* that the canon would be seriously, though respectfully, challenged.<sup>42</sup>

Of course, the contrast between Gardner's atomic-age liberal internationalism and today's multiculturalism could not be greater. Helen Gardner was not interested in preserving difference for its own sake—particularly not if that difference was an effect of "privatized" or individualized expression. Gardner's final chapter on "The Arts of the Machine" represents above all a collectivist apotheosis. For Gardner, contemporary art would be global art, without geographic borders and universal in its social utility and accessibility. In this she appears remarkably prescient. But even as she posits an art without boundaries that is only today beginning to take shape, Gardner presents a problem for art history: her 1948 edition of *Art through the Ages* both makes good on the utopian promise of modernist historiography—and is thus a thoroughly modernist document—and, in its eccentric refusals of modernist orthodoxies, represents a practice that cannot easily be accounted for in conventional terms.

### Notes

1. The idea of a global contemporary art world coalesced in the wake of considerations of the effect of the end of the Cold War in 1989 on the unfolding history of art. See, for example, Hans Belting, *The End of the History of Art?* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1987), Belting, *Art History after Modernism* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2003), and Belting,



- Andrea Buddenseiq, Peter Weibel, eds., *The Global Contemporary and the Rise of New Art Worlds* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2013).
2. James Elkins is editor of two concise introductions to debates among art historians over the global status of art history: *Is Art History Global?* (New York and London: Routledge, 2007) and, with Zhivka Valiavicharska and Alice Kim, *Art and Globalization* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010). Jarzombek's remarks are from his essay, "Art History and Architecture's Aporia," in Elkins, et al, 2010, 188–94. Jarzombek is coauthor, with Francis D. K. Ching and Vikramaditya Prakash, of the survey textbook, *A Global History of Architecture* (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley and Sons, 2007).
  3. See *Hegel's Aesthetics: Lectures on Fine Arts*, T. M. Knox, trans. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975).
  4. Helen Gardner, *Art through the Ages*, 3rd ed. (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1948).
  5. David Summers, *Real Spaces: World Art History and the Rise of Western Modernism* (London: Phaidon Press, 2003) and John Onians, *Atlas of World Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
  6. *Gardner's Art through the Ages* continues to find a wide readership. De la Croix and Tansey collaborated on the next five editions, 1970–1990, with contributions to the ninth edition made by Diane Kirkpatrick. The tenth edition of *Gardner's Art through the Ages*, revised by Tansey and Fred S. Kleiner, appeared in 1995. Eleventh and twelfth editions, revised by Kleiner with Christin J. Mamiya for Wadsworth Thomson, appeared in 2000 and 2004. Thirteenth and fourteenth editions, retitled *Gardner's Art through the Ages: A Global History* and revised by Kleiner for Cengage Learning, appeared in 2008 and 2012.
  7. According to Gardner's devoted student, photographer Harold Allen, who penned her entry in *Notable American Women*, ed. Edward T. and Janet W. James (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971).
  8. See my "Before the New Bauhaus: From Industrial Drawing to Art and Design Education in Chicago," *Design Issues*, 21 (Winter 2005): 41–62.
  9. *The Art Institute of Chicago, School Catalogue* (Chicago, IL: Art Institute of Chicago, 1901).
  10. *Catalogue of the Art School of the Art Institute of Chicago, 1918–1919*, 10–11.
  11. Ernest Batchelder, *Design in Theory and Practice* (New York: Macmillan, 1910), 233.
  12. *Catalogue of the Art School of the Art Institute of Chicago, 1926–1927*.
  13. Ellen Mazur Thomson, "Thorstein Veblen at the University of Chicago and the Socialization of Aesthetics," *Design Issues* 15, no. 1 (Spring 1999): 3–15.
  14. Richard Offner taught at the University of Chicago from 1915 to 1920. After two years at Harvard, he spent the majority of his long and distinguished academic career on the faculty of the Institute of Fine Arts at New York University. Offner died at age seventy-six in 1965.
  15. A tradition, according to Michael Podro, that had as its objective the exploration of works of art in light of principles that were understood to govern the artistic enterprise as a whole. Michael Podro, *The Critical Historians of Art* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1982).
  16. Sargent had joined the University of Chicago's School of Education in 1909, as professor of manual training and art in relation to education. The origins of

- a link between Gardner and Sargent are suggested in Sargent's change of title in 1912 to professor of fine and industrial art in relation to education—after his practical courses began that year to be cross-listed between Chicago's School of Education and its art history department. Sargent's reconfigured appointment is indicative of the growing importance of the education school at Chicago, at the time one of the largest in the country and a center for the new empirical "science" of education.
17. Walter Sargent, *Instruction in Art in the United States* [advance sheets from Biennial Survey of Education in the United States, 1916–1918] (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1919), 29–30.
  18. *Register of the University of Chicago, 1924–1925*.
  19. From art department files, University of Chicago archives.
  20. See my "'Gardner-Variety' Formalism: Helen Gardner and *Art through the Ages*," in *Partisan Canons*, ed. Anna Brzyski (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007), 203–23.
  21. Gardner 1926, iii–iv.
  22. Gardner 1926, 467.
  23. Gardner 1936, 742. Gardner is quoting Herbert Read's *Art and Industry* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1935), 108.
  24. Gardner, 1948, ix.
  25. Wendell L. Willkie, *One World* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1943).
  26. Freda Krichwey, "One World or None," *The Nation* (August 18, 1945).
  27. This despite its President Robert Hutchins' initial isolationism. After first providing a haven at the University for the Manhattan Project (which resulted in the first self-sustaining nuclear reaction in December 1942), Hutchins found in the utopianism of the Italian poet Giuseppe Antonio Borgese, who had joined the university's faculty in 1936 and was a passionate advocate of the idea of world government, a match for his own idealism. The two were instrumental in the formation of the Committee. See James Sloan Allen, *The Romance of Commerce and Culture* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1983).
  28. Gardner 1948, 782.
  29. Ulrich Pfisterer, "Origins and Principles of World Art History—1900 (and 2000)," in *World Art Studies: Exploring Concepts and Approaches*, eds. Kitty Zijlmans, Willfried Van Damme (Amsterdam: Valdis, 2008).
  30. The scientific psychological theory of empathy was proposed by Theodor Lipps between 1893 and 1897. See H. F. Mallgrave and E. Ikonomou, *Empathy, Form and Space: Problems in German Aesthetics, 1873–1893* (Santa Monica, CA: The Getty Center for the History of the Arts and the Humanities, 1994), 17–29.
  31. Gardner, "The Analytic Method," *Art Education Today* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1940), 26–38.
  32. These are documented in my book-in-progress, *Diagrammatics: Assembly-Line Aesthetics and the Modernizing of American Art* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press).
  33. Gardner 1948, 544–5.
  34. The phrase "abstract expression" (though not the diagram) first appears in Gardner's 1936 edition. Cheney coined the term "expressive form" for his first book, *A Primer of Modern Art*, in 1924, as a variation on the English art

- critic Clive Bell's "significant form." Cheney's second book, *Expressionism in Art*, 1934, credits the then relatively obscure painter, Hans Hofmann, for the insight that "mystical revelation" could be achieved through dynamic, rhythmic compositions in which an implied rapid movement into deep space was matched by an equally abrupt return to the surface of the picture plane.
35. For a brief overview of this, the central argument of my book-in-progress (cf. n32), see my "Jackson Pollock's Industrial Expressionism," *Art Journal* 63, no. 4 (Winter 2004): 68–79.
  36. Sumner McKay Crosby and the Department of the History of Art Yale University, eds., *Helen Gardner's Art through the Ages* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1959), xi.
  37. As in Irving Sandler, *The Triumph of American Painting. A History of Abstract Expressionism* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970).
  38. This process begins with the rejection of the "degraded" products of mass culture in Clement Greenberg's 1939 "Avant-Garde and Kitsch" and culminates with Alfred H. Barr, Jr.'s 1952 "Is Modern Art Communistic?" (a defense of avant-garde painting and its "democratic" values) and Meyer Schapiro's suggestion in his 1957 "The Liberating Quality of Avant-Garde Art" that the significance of avant-garde (especially Abstract Expressionist) painting lay in its positing of an alternative to the technological extremes of corporate capitalism. See Greenberg, "Avant-Garde and Kitsch," *Partisan Review* 6, no. 5 (Fall 1939): 34–49, Barr, "Is Modern Art Communistic?" *New York Times Magazine*, December 14, 1952, 22–23, 28–30, and Schapiro, "The Liberating Quality of Avant-Garde Art," *Art News* 56, no. 4 (Summer 1957): 36–42.
  39. Crosby, et al, 1959, 23.
  40. The single best source for the various arguments on this topic is *Pollock and After: The Critical Debate*, 2nd ed., Francis Frascina, ed. (New York and London: Routledge, 2000).
  41. The pressure to understand the development of modernism in Chicago in terms defined by narratives created to explain events in New York has produced such distortions as Franz Schulze's "Art in Chicago: The Two Traditions," in *Art in Chicago, 1945–1995*, Lynne Warren, ed. (Chicago, IL: Museum of Contemporary Art, 1996), 13–34. See my alternative, "Pride of Place," based on an analysis of the Chicago art world as a network or "eco-system," pp. 53–68 in the same volume.
  42. Marilyn Stokstad, et al., *Art History* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1995).

# The Politics of Architecture and History in the Anthropocene

*Patrick Haughey*

## **Savannah and the Architecture of Amnesia**

In 2013, the city of Savannah and the Savannah College of Art and Design's Architectural History Department played the gracious host to the Eighth Savannah Symposium where more than sixty scholars from a dozen countries presented their research on the broad themes of Modernity, Time, and Space. The symposium was by all accounts a success. The participants and guests enjoyed each other's company and the city immensely. The symposium's participants, papers, and dialogue inspired this book. However, contrary to Savannah's idyllic and stately nineteenth-century image in the imagination of the symposium guests and the thirteen million tourists who come through Savannah nearly every year, this city, though small, has many of the typical issues of the twenty-first-century city and is an excellent example of how architecture and its so-called modernity shapes its space over time.

Savannah's polluted river is home to one of the busiest container ports in the United States, feeding the US consumer through intermodal hubs stretching from here to Atlanta while simultaneously meeting the desire for everything from wood pulp to glossy newsprint and chicken parts in Asia and the rest of the world. Paper mills, an asphalt refinery, chemical plants, and a number of substantial manufacturing facilities also call Savannah home. Beyond the famous squares with their fountains, statues, and majestic trees, Savannah is very much a modern, if modestly sized, city. It remains racially divided and largely poor, an enduring legacy of colonialism, slavery, war capitalism, industrialization, and forced segregation. From the 1930s through the 1960s, three of Savannah's squares in a largely African American community were completely wiped out. First, for a state highway, and then for a civic center tied to interstate highway funding.<sup>1</sup> This urban renewal project also demolished



**Figure 14.1.** Empty lot between Montgomery Street and Martin Luther King Boulevard one block to the west of Savannah's historic district. Montgomery Street has been a dividing line between the affluent white population and the poor black population for over a hundred years (Photo by Author).

the 1901 passenger train station. A once vast streetcar network vanished by the 1940s before. Savannah's very recent tourist and urban reputation as a historic "walking city" was actually destroyed decades ago, and it currently relies on being able to access the Historic District by car.<sup>2</sup>

Recent efforts to create the image of a historic tourist destination have all but ignored Savannah's history as primarily an economic and industrial cog in the global economy from its founding in 1733.<sup>3</sup> For most of its history, Savannah saw itself as a modern city whose growth relied on exporting the raw goods needed for industrialization supplied by first slave and later cheap labor.<sup>4</sup> Its port and vast railroad connected the products of the interior through Savannah to the global economy. Savannah specialized in shipping slave-harvested goods like indigo, rice, and cotton to the manufacturing centers of the world, while importing luxury goods such as silk, sugar, coffee, tea, and rum for its small but rising white consumer merchant and landowner classes. Savannah was world's one of the major export centers for cotton, an integral cog in the vast slave and industrial economy known as the "Triangle Trade" that revolved around prices from Liverpool and textile manufacturing in Manchester.<sup>5</sup>

Savannah boasted vast iron and brick works, producing the materials for architecture as well as one of the largest railroad and shipping hubs in the Americas by the late nineteenth century. Many of the “Savannah Grey” bricks that built Savannah were manufactured by slaves working for the McAlprin family on a plantation upriver. The McAlprin Plantation is now buried under the Port of Georgia, as are several ancient indigenous mounds. By the turn of the twentieth century, Savannah was profiting off the vast pine forests of Georgia, as Mark Wetherington’s essay in this volume illustrates, clearing trees first for cotton, then turning trees into pitch, ship-ware, and eventually paper, the smell of which still permeates the evening air.<sup>6</sup> The nearly thirteen million annual visitors who move through Savannah move largely between the carefully curated squares and well-marked historic monuments and architectures, thus ignoring the vast majority of the city.<sup>7</sup> Despite the persistence of the Savannah Plan in the layout of the modern roads and the nineteenth-century planned and recently revitalized “city beautiful” squares in the popular downtown, the city in the present bears little resemblance to the city millions of visitors come to see, whose gaze rests on its carefully restored remnants in search of a city that never really existed (figure 14.1).

### **L’isle D’esperance: The Island of Absent History**

Just past the outer limits to the south of Savannah is the Isle of Hope, a small and ever-changing site in the history of modernity and the world where my wife and I currently live. On any given day, a handful of tourists find their way here, to visit Wormsloe Plantation, and then perhaps they drive slowly to gaze at the mansions under the massive old trees along the water on Bluff Drive where one can find historic houses like the one shown in figure 14.2.

This late-nineteenth-century illusion and description of this house and other stately mansions on Bluff Drive is not entirely accurate. Indeed the formal description disguises a history of absence and erasure. For over two centuries, mostly slaves inhabited this property on the Isle of hope. Slaves were the majority of the population that worked the small plantations that dominated all the land around what was then the very small settlement of Savannah with a white population that barely numbered a thousand. Yet there are no lasting traces of them here. Indeed, it was not that long ago that the nostalgic Bluff Drive, now an enclave of Southern charm and white conservative elitist privilege, was the edge of Parker plantation. The Parker Plantation was one of many that made up the vast mercantile landscapes of the British colonial empire during the eighteenth century. Parker was in fact a peripheral British colonist landing on the bluff of the Savannah River along with “founder” General Oglethorpe and his surveyor and fellow soldier Noble Jones. The protected 800-acre Wormsloe plantation adjacent to Parker’s belonged to Jones. It is



**Figure 14.2.** 1864, 7 W. Bluff Dr. “The Neoclassical mansion at 7 Bluff Drive has a deep two-story porch framed by six slender monumental Roman Doric columns, with pocket sash windows providing porch access on both levels. The house sits on a raised brick foundation and is crowned by a railing at the roofline reminiscent of colonial plantation houses. Enormous live oaks fill the front yard.” Photo by Author; description from *Buildings of Savannah* 2016.<sup>8</sup>

now a historic landmark and one of the only undeveloped plantations in the Savannah region, aside from the rice plantations turned wildlife refuge across the Savannah River (figure 14.3).

The Parker Plantation’s river-facing lands were first subdivided into thirteen long lots in the middle of the nineteenth century, allowing a small handful of Savannah’s elite, slave brokers and cotton merchants, to retreat from the summer heat to enjoy the cool breezes off the water on the island. When the streetcar reached the Isle of Hope in the late nineteenth century, zoo and carnival rides were built, and more guest cottages appeared. Today, on the scenic oxbow inlet, no trace remains of the streetcar or the carnival. There are well over sixty immensely large houses that appear historic only on what were once only thirteen long lots. Very few date to the nineteenth century, and even those that do have been heavily modified and massively enlarged.

In the aftermath of the Civil War, slaves and their descendants were pushed off the Isle of Hope to small communities like Sandfly and beyond to



**Figure 14.3.** This areal view of the wildlife refuge reveals the grid dug by slaves for the rice plantations that supported the early economy of Savannah. The Historic District is just beyond the bridge, and is dwarfed by the port and the scale of the plantations (Photo by Author).

sharecropping farms and dairies that were eventually erased in the post-1951 south-side sprawl of Savannah. Like many of the slaves in the Low Country who built the historic city of Savannah, their immediate descendants built post-Civil War Savannah and were for generations its low-paid, abused, and forcefully segregated caretakers. The Talmadge Memorial Bridge over



the Savannah River is still, despite recent debates, named after the rabidly segregationist and racist early twentieth-century governor of Georgia. Today historic Sandfly, although remaining home to some descendants of its founding inhabitants, has been transformed in the past decade by Walmart and Sam's Club, fast food joints, widened boulevards, a highway, and a new strip mall that only in the past few years went from a Piggly Wiggly anchor store to hosting affluent shops, a yoga studio, and upscale restaurants (figure 14.4). These recent additions pose quite a contrast to the still incredibly busy Dollar Store that predates them, attesting to the income (and racial) disparities in this, and every other corner of Savannah.

There is nothing on the Isle of Hope, or in the Savannah Low Country, to remind us of the indigenous Guale and the later Creek, who fished and lived around its shores in and around what are now nearly unrecognizable waterways for millennia, except references in Spanish letters from the era. When the Spaniards arrived to what they called La Florida in the early sixteenth century, the Guale and many other native peoples were nearly exterminated. The Spanish raided villages up and down the Atlantic to capture male slaves for their gold mines on the island of Hispaniola (Haiti/Dominican Republic) while trying to forcefully convert the population. When the Guale resisted, the Spanish burned their winter granaries, causing starvation and eventually retreat.<sup>9</sup>



**Figure 14.4.** This Walmart was built on what used to be sparsely populated pine forest occupied by local families of Sandfly. The complex, with its vast parking lots and the more recent deforestation for the Zaxby's and the future McDonalds illustrates at ground level the impact of the economic forces of endless consumer development (Photo by Author).

There are no architectural traces of the brief encounter of the French Huguenots, who arrived before Oglethorpe and friends, fleeing persecution after the 1685 Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, except for the Anglicized name of L'Isle d'Esperance.<sup>10</sup> Today the Isle of Hope is ringed on the waterline by immense private dwellings and boat docks, while the middle is occupied by several mid-century-era ranch subdivisions inhabited primarily by a white "middle class," as well as more affluent suburban developments. The vast and tangled waterways and wetlands around the Isle of Hope and the other islands of Savannah have been dredged, bridged, reshaped, and poisoned beyond what the indigenous inhabitants or even the early English colonists would recognize. Although the vastly diminished remnants of the coastal wetlands are now moderately protected, the Savannah River remains one of the most polluted rivers in the country. A local fishing culture, both indigenous and pervasive throughout most of the twentieth century, has for the most part nearly vanished.

### **Modernity and the Isle of Hope**

The suburbanization of the Isle of Hope in the twentieth century is largely a result of the federally subsidized race-driven private housing market born in the 1930s that facilitated the subdivision in this part of the country of the former plantation lands into smaller and smaller lots, in an endless cycle of finance, growth, and the ideology of home-ownership that is typical of the history of twentieth-century housing and US growth.<sup>11</sup> Mortgage standards and latent racism continue to reinforce the affluent whiteness of this peripheral and seemingly secure enclave.<sup>12</sup>

In late 2014, the Isle of Hope played its traditional role in the what at the time was most expensive and poorly attended election in US history to date. Political commentators briefly indulged in this minor moment in global history as a crucial event, marking the backlash of right-wing libertarian and neoconservative anger or general public apathy. Yet, the columns of the neoplantation mansions on the Bluff fulfilled their centuries-old task, providing an aura of timeless traditional values to this brief reactionary moment, assuring the white, Christian, old Southern elites who have inhabited this little corner of outer Savannah for centuries that their place in the economic and political universe is once again secure.

After the signs come down every two years, the stylistic righteous morality and idyllic setting will leisurely beckon visitors to this picturesque site under the centuries-old trees and the Spanish moss, where the cool breeze of the oxbow inlet blows over the docks and boats in this sublime enclave of white prestige and privilege. On the contrary, the barely attended wave of myopic national rapture from November 2014, largely dominated by a small minority of white and elderly citizens who accompanied the Republican takeover of the US Congress, is after all a molecular event in the vast scale of time as are

the stately mansions that ever so briefly displayed their partisan signage. The architecture recedes behind the selective amnesia of its well-choreographed embodiment of a place and time.

The architectural and cultural landscapes of the Isle of Hope, and the mansions on the Bluff, with their classical columns, nostalgic details and idyllic staging, their signage and politics represent on multiple scales an ideology of political economics, that although hundreds of years old, has become quite prominent over the past few decades. From this perspective, the column details, suburban development, and architectural history of Isle of Hope in its present form is a representation of an evangelical, racist, anti-science Christian Conservatism typical of the wage-divided and heavily impoverished American South. In this sense the tourists who flood Savannah are embracing the architectural aesthetics of the so-called Lost Cause, a reimagining of the Confederacy as a “noble and righteous endeavor.”<sup>13</sup>

However, beyond its locally determined form, the historical character of the Isle of Hope also reflects the legacies of post–Great Depression and Cold War–era developmental policies, Chicago School “classical” economics, and a fidelity to a poorly understood Meisian fiscal austerity combined with neoliberal “progrowth” principles.<sup>14</sup> In the political economy this manifests itself as an obsession with debt to GDP ratios, bond markets, gold, the dismantling of a public safety net in order to facilitate abstractions of deficit reduction, and the privatization of public assets to finance a decrease in the tax burden for the affluent. Read thusly, the Isle is the architectural manifestation of the ever-present rationalist monster of Pierre Bourdieu’s *homo economicus*.<sup>15</sup>

In the end, the Isle of Hope’s mansions are neither unique nor architecturally all that significant for their date of origin nor their varieties of Greek Revival plantation style. The Isle of Hope and its signature architecture is an embodiment of what geographer Simon Springer calls neoliberalism’s economic hegemony that is always violently inscribed into space, beyond words and ideological manifestations.

Architecture is a mirror “held up to somehow reflect or represent the world but instead enter[s] directly into its constitution,” yet it is also more.<sup>16</sup> While Springer’s critique certainly characterizes the Isle of Hope, and likely the rest of Savannah, it also reflects a contemporary bias toward more recent economic policies and their consequences from recent decades. By contrast, from a world systems perspective, so-called neoliberalism is just another manifestation of the war capitalism that inaugurated the colonial era, using the language of nostalgic architecture to create and mask a politics of violent economic extraction. Therefore, the architecture of the Isle of Hope and the modern city of Savannah are a particular site created over three centuries of time, divided and shaped into a deliberately segregated, extractive, colonial, financial, and mercantile, albeit aesthetically beautiful, space.<sup>17</sup> In this sense, Savannah with its idyllic squares and old buildings, the Isle with its scenic

view under its stately trees toward the water is not a whole lot different from many other sites founded in the colonial era that, despite their violent and politically charged histories, are still celebrated as great and beautiful sites and architectures.

### **The Anthropocene and the Politics of Architecture History**

Joel Klotkin, among many others states, unequivocally “humankind’s greatest creation,” has always been its cities.<sup>18</sup> Yet, what if he is wrong? On a hot day in Savannah I take my students outside to stand on the baking asphalt parking lot, many of whom do not believe in global warming due to a brand of antiscience politics that is endemic in the US South. They hold their hands about four inches above the pavement where the temperature is close to 140°F. Before they start to get uncomfortable, we walk over to some trees and they repeat the exercise, it is over 30°F cooler.

The human population took almost all of its history to reach one billion people around 1800, during which time we constantly disturbed our environment. The global population then doubled by 1900. In 1950, there were just over three billion people. Since 1950, we have used more resources than we did over the course of our entire history. My students are then asked to look around. See all that asphalt, hardscape, flat-topped buildings topped with oil-derivative black roof materials and impermeable urban interventions. That transformation of the landscape at scale into hard, impermeable, and hot reflective surfaces is relatively recent in human history. Now I ask them to multiply what they see around them by 7.4 billion people. Global warming is not just about our carbon-intensive energy use and our outsized consumption desires, it is also fundamentally architecture.<sup>19</sup>

In the vast history of the earth, itself more than four billion years old, perhaps the condition we call modernity is merely a relatively recent human condition within the vast geological and astrophysical universe of time and space. Although this has been and will likely continue to be a struggle about the role and content of history and architecture in the academy, perhaps it is more useful to reconcile our own discipline and its crude, if necessary, models of representation with the idea of the Anthropocene. The Architecture of the Anthropocene made its debut very late for the architecture history profession, in one session at the Society of Architectural Historians in 2014, and with few exceptions, outside the mainstream, has since retreated from the conversation.<sup>20</sup>

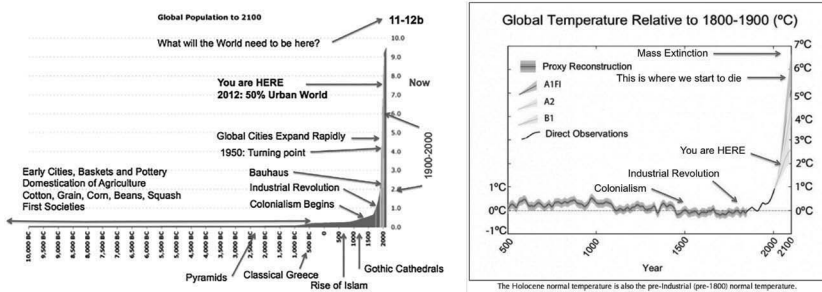
The Anthropocene, regardless of its origins as a term, was first debated in public by paleo-geologists well over a decade ago, asking what seemed to be an impossible question: Have human beings finally impacted the earth in a way that has permanently altered the four billion plus years of geologic time? For many that seemed highly improbable, if not impossible. Yet as the evidence mounted, layers of toxins and radiation are unearthed, man-made catastrophes

can be found in ice cores, even earliest agriculture registers in the layers of soil, itself a boon for archeologists. Changes recorded in the earth manifest themselves in increased weather volatility, flooding and populations displacement as the past several years have unfortunately demonstrated, especially in vulnerable regions such as Bangladesh. Of course, all you really have to do is look at the architecture around you: Where are the trees, the wetlands, the animals, and the indigenous societies? Where are the rivers? They have been erased by architecture and human development.

In 2015, the origins of the Anthropocene were distinguished from the Holocene, by Simon Lewis and Mark Maslin in *Nature*. They picked 1610, among many other options, to mark the drop in temperature caused by the overgrowth of the Americas after the European genocide of its millions of inhabitants.<sup>21</sup>

Arguments for a geological time shift in the way we approach epochs and eras is an attempt to respond to the massive weight of humanity over the past two hundred years, and especially the past seventy. Humans have left indelible layers of toxic soil, carbon, architectural and landscape interventions littered with plastic compounds and radiation that will now be visible in the layering of rocks and ice cores forever.<sup>22</sup> For scientists this qualifies it as a new era ending the Holocene, where our time on earth has finally triumphed over the vast scale and power of nearly timeless geology. If we include global samples reflecting the migration of organisms, food, and other biological matter from their indigenous origins to locations around the world, you can trace the Anthropocene to the dawn of colonialism. The migration of biological materials is popularly known as the Columbian Exchange (after Columbus, of course).<sup>23</sup> Indeed if the nearly universal majority of global geological, climate, and other scientific scholars are to be believed and we do not change our patterns of consumption, energy use, and, more importantly for this chapter, development and architecture, it might be the last strata of geologic time to register humanity at all, going back millions of years. Therefore, it is time for historians of architectures and building cultures to rethink their own versions of how we teach the past to our young people, and how we understand it ourselves.

The United Nations (UN) recently released population projections based on data gathered in 2012 using a Bayesian probabilistic methodology. Analysis of this data reveals that, contrary to previous literature emphasizing inevitably slowing birthrates due to the education of women and the mythical progress of democracy, the world population is unlikely to peak at ten billion or even stop growing after this century is concluded. Much of this miscalculation is due to increasingly violent attacks on women's education (here and around the world) and the radicalization of violence toward women in some of the most populous regions of the world over the past decade. There is now an 80 percent probability that world population, currently somewhere near 7.4 billion people at the time of this writing, will increase to between 9.6 billion



**Figure 14.5.** Left: Slide of population and style and building cultures (2015 Haughey and Cowherd). Right: 500 CE to 2100 Temperature and the Future. You are Here is inevitable and B1 is the best-case scenario if we start to mitigate the world immediately. A2 is a possible scenario assuming a consensus is eventually reached in the next decade. A1F1 is our path based on current energy, political, and development practices. At 4°C ocean levels begin to drown the 80 percent of the world population that live within approximately 3 meters of sea level. At 6° degrees we begin an Anoxic event, where oxygen starts to vanish. (Right image modified by Haughey from climate scholarship projections <https://ourchangingclimate.wordpress.com/2011/02/02/past-present-future-temperatures>).

and 12.3 billion by 2100.<sup>24</sup> Yet in studios and history programs at architecture schools across the United States, with few exceptions, there may be only one that even attempts to address whatever the current definition of “sustainability” is, and fewer still that speak to the needs of a future 11–12 billion population world.

Figure 14.5 has been developed over the past several years with my colleague, Robert Cowherd for our own architectural survey courses (figure 14.5). The image is a critique of the typical style-based chronological survey, taught to architects and others over the past fifty years, by emphasizing our growing habitation of the planet as a historically specific phenomenon. The image also challenges models of the survey that spends most of the time in the classroom focusing on the “modernisms” of great white men of the 1920s or the even so-called theoretical ruptures of Venturi and Koolhaas in the postwar era, which take place when the world only had between two and four billion people.<sup>25</sup> By the scale of population, Le Corbusier and Walter Gropius in Europe are closer to the priest-architect Imhotep of the Great Pyramid of Djoser than they are to our current and future students.

The population map also lists prominent world-spanning building cultures. This has the advantage of charting architecture as more or less a sequence of permanent settlements and dominant architectural cultures, regardless of region or nation-based history. Finally, the abstract population graph also

dismantles the idea of the Architecture History as a chronology of stylistic evolution where one stops and another dominant movement begins. This is something that is covered well in critical scholarship but remarkably absent in the classroom or the textbooks that accompany the architectural surveys, where young adults first encounter architecture as a subject of study. The graph attempts to place architectural history within more complex and real historical forces in order to demonstrate how the development of cities, architectures, and other forms of human habitation around the world influence and are influenced by transnational cultural, economic, and political forces including, in recent centuries, colonialism, industrialism, modernization, nationalism. Yet, population as a proxy for architectural habitation remains, much like the canon of architecture, backward looking from the present as it emphasizes where we are now, and where we possibly might end up, through the seemingly inevitable forces of what up until now are almost universally held as the benefits of urbanization, a historical judgment that is anathema to historiography proper. In that sense it bears a similar risk of uncritical determinism that is embedded in all attempts to quantify the experience of human history.

However, reframing the history of human habitation against our population also illustrates how we have irrevocably altered our planet through the sheer weight of humanity, consuming more resources in the past 70 years than we did in the 70,000 to 3 million years prior.<sup>26</sup> Over the vast history of the world that humans have inhabited, parts per million of Carbon Dioxide vary between 270 and the low 300s. We have recently exceeded 400 ppm in the past few years.<sup>27</sup> With our current methods of development and at our current rate of population growth, the likelihood of us causing an anoxic event is increasing. An anoxic event occurs when oxygen disappears in the water, then in the air, and the atmosphere is replaced by nitrogen. As parts per million of carbon dioxide increase at an unprecedented rate throughout our habitation on this planet due to both our energy consumption and patterns of deforestation for goods and development, a new Permian Extinction could occur when gigatons of carbon permeate the atmosphere leading to acidification of the ocean at around 500 parts per million of carbon dioxide. This anoxic event removes the oxygen from the world.<sup>28</sup> In other words, if we get over 500 ppm, oxygen starts to vanish and we die. This will be the seventh major extinction event in world history following swiftly on the heels of the sixth, which is happening at this very moment.<sup>29</sup> Architectural history along with humanity could come to an end. However, this is not just a political, environmental, and technological crisis. It is embedded in architecture and its discourse.

Recent research notes that in addition to ending our addiction to fossil fuels, we must reforest at least 15 percent of the earth in order for humanity to survive with a reduced if inevitable increase in climate volatility.<sup>30</sup> Indeed,

the few cases where this has happened have been proven to not only work for air, but also for water quality.<sup>31</sup> Unfortunately, forests are antithetical to architecture and urbanization. Cities and urbanization eat forests and lands of all kinds. Architecture by its very nature takes up space. Humans transform forests into products, agriculture, and architecture. Thus beyond the width of the urban footprint, urbanization itself consumes space beyond the city limits at a rapid rate, for food, energy, and building materials, just to name a few. Indeed much of what we have done to the planet's land and atmosphere is derived from an economic obsession with growth, as we transform resources extracted from the ground through cheap labor and manufacturing for the endless desires for what are considered the benefits of consumer-based economy. As Robert Cowherd wrote, "[W]e might take some measure of comfort in the fact that the currently perceived dominant threat to human existence has dispersed from the singular push of a button to the collective impacts of individual choices, vastly distributed in time and space."<sup>32</sup> These collective impacts are not just about our behaviors and desires; they are fundamentally our architecture; as I say to my students, "everything you build with comes out of a hole in the round somewhere."<sup>33</sup>

We know the impact of massive reforestation on climate due to one of the horrors of modernity, the violent depopulation of the Americas. In the aftermath of European conquest, the indigenous populations that by and large maintained a cultivated and managed landscape were eradicated through violence, enslavement, destroyed living centers and trade routes, and eventually disease. In the aftermath of the greatest genocide in human history, the Americas experienced a cycle of massive vegetation regrowth. This increase in vegetation pulled carbon dioxide out of the air on a global scale. This caused what is known as a mini ice age in Europe, thereby inspiring a massive demand for fur from the Americas, of course leading to other forms of mass animal extinction for consumer taste. This event is recorded in ice core samples in the Antarctic and in tree rings, making it, for Lewis and Maslin, the most prominent example of human action impacting geologic time.<sup>34</sup> Deforestation for paper, boxes for shipping our untamed commercial desires, building products, oils for skin creams, timber for the explosive ship building during 400 years of colonial exploitation and now for the rapid growth of cities between 1800 and the present to accommodate over seven billion people is a major reason why the hunger of urbanization, despite its many benefits, has deprived the planet of its vast stretches of forested lungs and relatively undeveloped yet always inhabited space. Indeed the latest scholarship measured the entire tree cover on the planet and discovered that since human civilization began we have lost 46 percent of the world's forests. Indeed it is estimated that we currently cut down fifteen billion trees per year.<sup>35</sup> This is fundamentally an architecture, urbanization and consumption problem (figure 14.6).





**Figure 14.6.** Example of deforestation for development the New Tanger Outlet Mall, just west of Savannah that opened in 2015 (2014 Photo by Author).

### **Fragile Humanity: Toward a New History of Habitation**

Reframing the history of architecture within the weight of human inhabitants over the earth over broad swaths of time demonstrates how despite hundreds of thousands of years of often violent and destructive human history there remain in the present fragile traces of our entire architectural existence at many scales, from Blombos Cave in South Africa to the peaceful trading empire and the pyramids of the Supe River Valley in Peru.<sup>36</sup> The persistence of even the most fragile of architectural evidence is what enables the discipline of architectural history to exist and even thrive. Indeed, despite the critique mentioned largely centered on how architecture continues to be taught, scholarship from multiple disciplines has been challenging how we teach architecture and its history for decades.

Mark Jarzombek, a keynote speaker of the Eighth Savannah Symposium, insists that there is a parallel story of human habitation that runs continually up the present, countering the aesthetics of modernism and the entirety of urbanization as the beneficial underbelly of architectural history. He argues that how we define humanity in the deep past as well as indigenous societies is largely a product of the Cold War and the invention of global organizations.<sup>37</sup> I would modify that and insist it can be traced back to colonial imperialism and war capitalism where history was and still is deployed to justify development

and profit disguised as progress or civilization at any cost. Jarzombek also notes that the most common form of human occupation for most of our history is not urbanization but the practices of First Societies that have lasted for all of our existence. Contrary to popular belief, these people did not spend most of their time “hunting and gathering”; they engaged in kinship, celebratory meals, ritual expression, dancing, music, love, and other expressions of their diverse cultural lives. These peoples, whose descendants still exist, are now marginalized in the modern world driven deep into forests, deserts, and mountains, as their lands and cultures are eliminated to make space for modernity.<sup>38</sup>

The resistance to urbanization takes place within the so-called blank spaces of the map that disregard the powerful if arbitrary nation-state boundaries and challenge the sites of urbanization that many historians mark as humanity’s greatest achievement. Between and among the monuments and the remains of explosive growth or architecturally significant cities and sites, of course, have always been people, if not so many as now. The survival of once dominant human strategies for human habitation continues, yet in dwindling numbers and in an ever more fragile state, clinging to land and water that is in ever-increasing demand for the insatiable desires of global modern life. They continue to resist the urbanization story, a history that given the vast transformation of our climate through our architectures, urban systems, and resource consumption for daily life may not have been all that beneficial after all.<sup>39</sup>

The history of human habitation reaches back hundreds of thousands if not millions of years according to neuroscientists, geneticists, paleo-archaeologists, and others. Perhaps humans have always been modern as the genetics of our brain that govern our abilities to reshape our environment go back nearly three million years. In 2014 alone, scholars have discovered a 30,000-year-old painted cave in what is now Indonesia, a 50,000-year-old human jaw in Ethiopia, a 1.8-million-year-old skull in the Ukraine and 3-million-year-old tools and bones pushing our origins as human creative beings farther and farther back into ancient time.<sup>40</sup> This is a minor miracle requiring that the space of discovery must be virtually untouched by humanity to remain undisturbed.

Architecture is fragile. Humans are of course responsible for much of our architectural losses, from our own desires for growth to the consequences of hatred, violence, and war.<sup>41</sup> Despite the advantages of thinking about the thousands of years of habitation and the many disadvantages to its environmental impact on our survival relative to population, even the broad rebranding of architecture as mentioned earlier, with the explosive urbanization of the world amidst a multimillennia development of human habitation, is misleading as its left-to-right upward movement seems to reinforce the myth of urbanization as not only synonymous with progress, but that it was inevitable. Of course, this determinism is most assuredly false. Urbanization and architecture is the

product of millions of momentary alterations at a variety of scales going back in time that even if well-intentioned, altered our planet irrevocably in pursuit of gods, power, and wealth, almost all of which have been resisted by other humans at each step, without much success.<sup>42</sup>

### Notes

1. Nathan Walker, "Savannah's Lost Squares," *Journal of the Society of Architecture History* 70, no. 4 (2010): 512–31.
2. Indeed to live in the Historic District and take advantage of its "walkability" requires not an inconsiderable amount of wealth, as residential prices downtown are on par with downtown residential prices in cities like Boston that dwarf Savannah in size.
3. Prior to 1733 the shores of the Savannah and Ogeechee rivers were past a vast network of centuries-old indigenous trade up and down the Atlantic coast, from the Mississippian regions through the Gulf of Mexico.
4. The 1903 Mayor's Report (Courtesy of the Municipal Archives of Savannah).
5. Sven Beckert, *Empire of Cotton: A Global History* (New York: Knopf, 2014). Beckert uses the term "War Capitalism" instead of the broader term colonialism in order to emphasize that what seems like profitable "free" trade was enforced through brutal violence.
6. Georgia is arguably the "Pitch" state, not the "Peach" state, referring to the transformation of wood into pitch for ships. The Georgia Peach is a brand, and most of them are grown in South Carolina.
7. The population of Savannah and Chatham County is just over 200,000, yet less than 20,000 people are residents of the Historic District. Over half the thirteen million tourists are "day travelers," who linger only for a few hours.
8. This is a typical Society of Architectural History–sanctioned description of architecture, emphasizing date, author if known, style, important features, and a brief description of its landscape produced for a Buildings of the United States book on Savannah, of which I was a coauthor. Entry from Robin Williams, ed., *Buildings of Savannah, A Society of Architectural Historians, Buildings of the United States Series* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2016). The author of this essay and the editor of *Modernities Across Time* was a coauthor of this book along with four members of the architectural history department at Savannah College of Art and Design.
9. David Hurst Thomas, "The Spanish Mission in La Florida," in *Columbus and the Land of Allyn: The Exploration and Settlement of the Southeast*, ed. Jennine Cook ed. (Darien, GA: Lower Altamaha Historical Society, 1992), 56–60; See also Paul E. Hoffman, *A New Andalusia and a Way to the Orient: The American Southeast during the Sixteenth Century* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Press, 2004), 60–83. The Guale is the name the Spanish gave to the local people.
10. The earliest French Protestants arrived in the British colony Virginia before migrating south into what is now North Carolina in the late seventeenth century. It is possible that their brief encounter with Savannah were related to early refugees in North Carolina from France, Alan Watson, *Society in Colonial North Carolina* (Raleigh, NC: North Carolina Division of Archives and History, 1996), 3–4.

11. See, for example, Louis Hyman, *Debtor Nation: The History of America in Red Ink* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011), and Jonathon Massey, "Risk and Regulation of the Financial Architecture of American Housing," in Aggregate, *Governing by Design: Architecture, Economy and Politics in the Twentieth Century* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012), 21–46.
12. Savannah neighborhoods remain segregated. My wife and I decided to move to the Isle of Hope in 2012 for both price and security reasons after doing research on how much crime plagued most of Savannah, even in its "nicer" (white) neighborhoods. The city has experienced an increase in violent crime over the past several years due to well-documented high-level police corruption, lack of resources, and the city leadership downplaying the issue to avoid scaring off the tourists. Indeed, the real estate agents that guided us around Savannah in 2012 were not discrete about the racial qualities of neighborhoods, using terminology like "mixed" for black neighborhoods, and "safe" for white. Our little neighborhood, Grimbél Park, was built in from the 1940s to the 1970s and is composed of small mid-century ranch houses. The racial security illusion peddled by the real estate agent failed when our house was broken into in broad daylight in late 2013. In the aftermath of this incident and when it began to happen to others, we discovered that for the wealthy residents of the Isle of Hope, our neighborhood due to its more modest income characteristics is not the "real" Isle of Hope.
13. The Lost Cause is the term celebrated in the early twentieth century that tried to celebrate the glory of the antebellum and pre-Civil War South, where its leaders were noble fighters against Union tyranny, and plantation owners and the generals represented a chivalrous romantic society. It was enshrined as popular revisionist history when in 1868 Edward A. Pollard published, *The Lost Cause: A New Southern History of the War of the Confederates, Comprising a Full and Authentic Account of the Rise and Progress of the Late Southern Confederacy—the Campaigns, Battles, Incidents, and Adventures of the Most Gigantic Struggle of the World's History*. Pollard's version of events was reinforced by articles written by former Confederate Lt. Gen. Jubal A. early in the 1870s for the Southern Historical Society. Two former Confederate generals went on to have a major impact on US history when Nathan Bedford Forrest founded the Klu Klux Klan (KKK), and Wade Hampton III was elected to Congress. Hampton and his southern colleagues re-created laws enforcing legal segregation. Not by coincidence, in 2011, just before the GOP takeover of Congress, sales of Pollard's book in reprint surged as twenty-first-century politicians continue to insist on a "southern perspective" toward governance and liberty. In 2015, there was a massacre at a historic black church, by a disturbed racist teenager who embraced the Confederate flag in Charleston. In response, after weeks of debate, the governor took down the Confederate Flag from the South Carolina State House in Columbia. This in turn prompted backlash resurgence in the mythology of the "noble" Confederacy among whites in the South, including a protest by in Columbia of the local chapter of the KKK.
14. Robin M. Robe Greenwood and David S Scharfstein, "The Growth of Modern Finance" (July 1, 2012). Available at SSRN: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=2162179> or <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2162179> and J. W. Mason and Arjun

- Jayadev, "Fisher Dynamics in Household Debt: The Case of the United States, 1922–2011," (Working Paper, 2013). See also Michael Hudson, *Super Imperialism: The Origin and Fundamentals of U.S. World Dominance*, 2nd Edition (London: Pluto Press, 2003); and Neil Smith, *Uneven Development: Nature Capital and the Production of Space*, 3rd ed. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2008).
15. Ljubiša Mitrović, "Bourdieu's Criticism of the Neoliberal Philosophy and the Development, the Myth of Monialization and the New Europe," *Facta Universitatis Series: Philosophy, Sociology and Psychology* 4, no 1 (2005): 37–49: <http://facta.junis.ni.ac.rs/pas/pas2005/pas2005-05.pdf>; in Bourdieu's unpublished work with Luc Boltanski and Jean-Claude Chamoreddom, *The Bank and its Customers: Elements for a Sociology of Credit*, from the 1960s, the authors emphasize how little rationality goes into loan applications as the anxiety overwhelm what little financial sophistication there is, bringing all of their cultural and social considerations into an economic decision. Financial choice is highly subjective to a variety of nonrational factors that are usually factored out of the mathematical models of economists. That parallels Bourdieu's observation in Algeria, largely ignored by Central Banks, think tanks, and many others, that impoverished people have no energy to engage in rational decisions that may pay off in the long term, as their suffering is a constant battle between the emotions of hope and despair, Richard Swedberg, "The Economics Sociologies of Pierre Bourdieu," *Cultural Sociology* 5, no. 1 (2015): 1–18.
16. Simon Springer, "Violence sits in places? Cultural practice, neoliberal rationalism, and virulent imaginative geographies," *Political Geography* 30 (2011): 9.
17. Jose da Mota Lopes, "History, and Eurocentrism: Longue Durée and the Immediate in Braudel and Wallerstein" in Richard E. Lee, ed. *The Longue Duree and World-Systems Analysis* (New York: Fernand Braudel Center Studies in Historical Social Science: State University of New York Press, 2012).
18. Joel Klotkin, *The City: A Global History* (New York: The Modern Library, 2006). Of course his book mirrors the canon, starting in Mesopotamia and ending up in New York, ignoring arguably older or more complex sites around the world such as Mohenjo-Daru on the Indus River or the fastest growing city in the world, Lagos, Nigeria.
19. Changing the way we develop land use is found to be as important as changing our energy policies for global warming and preventing mass extinction; see, for example, Alejandro Ordonez, Sebastián Martinuzzi, Volker C. Radeloff, and John W. Williams. "Combined Speeds of Climate and Land-Use Change of the Conterminous US until 2050." *Nature Climate Change* 4, no. 9 (August 17, 2014): 811–16; Mathias Kuemmerlen, Britta Schmalz, Qinghua Cai, Peter Haase, Nicola Fohrer, and Sonja C. Jähnig. "An Attack on Two Fronts: Predicting How Changes in Land Use and Climate Affect the Distribution of Stream Macroinvertebrates." *Freshwater Biology*, April 2015.
20. Daniel Barber, "Environmentalisation and Environmentality: Re-Conceiving the History of 20th Century Architecture." *Design Philosophy Papers* 7, no. 3 (2009): 145–60. See also Diane Ackerman. *The Human Age: The World Shaped By Us* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2014).

21. Simon Lewis and Mark Maslin, "Defining the Anthropocene." *Nature* 519 (March 2015).
22. Mike Orcutt, "Study Sets a Limit on Usable Fossil Fuel," *MIT Technology Review* (January 2015): <http://www.technologyreview.com/news/533956/how-much-fossil-fuel-should-be-left-in-the-ground/>; "New Planetary Dashboard Shows 'Great Acceleration' in Human Activity since 1950." Accessed January 16, 2015. <http://phys.org/news/2015-01-planetary-dashboard-great-human.html>.
23. This thesis was controversial when Alfred Crosby published it in *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900–1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986). Crosby's thesis has since been reinforced by decades of bountiful scholarship on disease, food, pest migrations, and invasive species.
24. Patrick Gerland, et al, "World population stabilization unlikely this century," *Science* 10 v. 346 n. 6206 (October 2014): 234–37.
25. Indeed, architecture historians I know often spend at least a week on Le Corbusier, and often not until close to the end of the term. For a critique of this and many avant-gardist approaches to architectural pedagogy, see Mark Jarzombek, "Architecture: A Failed Discipline." *Archis* 19, no. 1 (2009): 42–43; and Gülsüm Baydar, "The Cultural Burden of Architecture." *Journal of Architectural Education* (1984–) 57, no. 4 (May 1, 2004): 19–27.
26. Mark Fischetti. "Humans Cross Another Danger Line for the Planet | Observations, Scientific American Blog Network." Accessed January 21, 2015. <http://blogs.scientificamerican.com/observations/2015/01/15/>
27. "Carbon Dioxide Milestone Already Passed in 2015." *DNews*. Accessed January 13, 2015. <http://news.discovery.com/earth/global-warming/co2-milestone-already-passed-in-2015-150113.htm>.
28. M. O. Clarkson, S. A. Kasemann, R. A. Wood, T. M. Lenton, S. J. Daines, S. Richoz, F. Ohnemüller, A. Meixner, S. W. Poulton, and E. T. Tipper, "Ocean acidification and the Permo-Triassic mass extinction." *Science*, 2015 DOI: 10.1126/science.aaa0193
29. The sixth extinction is associated with the dramatic drop in biodiversity and the mass extinction of distinct species over the past few decades due to human development. Elizabeth Kolbert, *The Sixth Extinction: An Unnatural History*. (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2014).
30. Justin Gillis, "Restored Forests Breathe Life into Efforts against Climate Change." *New York Times*, December 23, 2014. <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/12/24/science/earth/restored-forests-are-making-inroads-against-climate-change.html>
31. Wayne Walker, Alessandro Baccini, Stephan Schwartzman, Sandra Ríos, Maria A. Oliveira-Miranda, Cicero Augusto, Milton Romero Ruiz, et al., "Forest Carbon in Amazonia: The Unrecognized Contribution of Indigenous Territories and Protected Natural Areas," *Carbon Management* (2014): 1–7.
32. Robert Cowherd, "Notes on Post-criticality: Towards an Architecture of Reflexive Modernisation," *Footprint* 4 (2009): 72.
33. Patrick Haughey, "The Aesthetics of Negligence: Architecture in the Age of Inequality," in *Dialectic: Architecture between Boom and Bust*, Vol. 2, eds. Shundana Yusuf and Ole Fischer (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2014)

34. Simon Lewis and Mark Maslin, "Defining the Anthropocene." *Nature* 519 (March 2015).
35. Crowther, T. W., H. B. Glick, K. R. Covey, C. Bettigole, D. S. Maynard, S. M. Thomas, J. R. Smith, et al. "Mapping Tree Density at a Global Scale." *Nature*, September 2, 2015. doi:10.1038/nature14967.
36. These sites are constantly threatened by short-sight economic needs; see Michael Balter, "Development Threatens Home of Early Humans," *Science* 349, no. 6243 (2015): 11–12.
37. Mark Jarzombek, "Are we Homo Sapiens Yet?"
38. In Mark Jarzombek, *Architecture of First Societies: A Global Perspective* (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley, 2013), 303 there is a chart of human habitation that demonstrates how First Societies have dwindled in the face of urban societies, not always through culture but mainly through loss of land and habitat.
39. I should mention that there is no way to retreat from urbanization; there are too many of us now and too little space left for us to go back to what is now called subsistence living. We should, however, be saving what is left of space that has not been destroyed beyond repair. For a great critique of urbanization as a tool of conquest, see James C. Scott, *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009).
40. See, for example, M. Aubert, A. Brumm, M. Ramli, T. Sutikna, E. W. Saptomo, B. Hakim, M. J. Morwood, G. D. van den Bergh, L. Kinsley, and A. Dosseto. "Pleistocene Cave Art from Sulawesi, Indonesia." *Nature* 514, no. 7521 (October 9, 2014): 223–27; Will Dunham. "Zigzag Design on Shell Called Landmark Feat for Early Humans." *Reuters*. December 3, 2014. <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/12/03/us-science-shells-idUSKCN0JH24620141203>; D. Maddy, D. Schreve, T. Demir, A. Veldkamp, J. R. Wijbrans, W. van Gorp, D. J. J. van Hinsbergen, et al., "The Earliest Securely-Dated Hominin Artefact in Anatolia?," *Quaternary Science Reviews* 109 (February 2015): 68–75. <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/01/29/science/ancient-skull-adds-new-insight-to-story-of-human-evolution.html>; "Saharan 'Carpet of Tools' Is Earliest Known Man-Made Landscape." Accessed March 31, 2015. <http://phys.org/news/2015-03-saharan-carpet-tools-earliest-man-made.html>; Tom D. Dillehay, C. Ramírez, M. Pino, M. B. Collins, J. Rossen, and J. D. Pino-Navarro. "Monte Verde: Seaweed, Food, Medicine, and the Peopling of South America." *Science* 320, no. 5877 (May 9, 2008): 784–86; Qiaomei Fu, Heng Li, Priya Moorjani, Flora Jay, Sergey M. Slepchenko, Aleksei A. Bondarev, Philip L. F. Johnson, et al. "Genome Sequence of a 45,000-Year-Old Modern Human from Western Siberia," *Nature* 514, no. 7523 (October 22, 2014): 445–49; "Ancient Auditory Illusions Reflected in Prehistoric Art?" *Science Daily*. Accessed November 3, 2014.
41. There are nearly unlimited examples from the Roman destruction of Carthage, the Japanese rape of Nanjing, the Nazi demolition of Warsaw, the US firebombing of Dresden and the subsequent erasure of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the iconoclasm of religions that destroys the architectures of their rivals, the building of dams from Aswan in Egypt to the Three Gorges in China, from colonial imperialist and US-sponsored wars in Southeast Asia, all parts of Africa, and the recent bombings of Iraq and Afghanistan to the razing of Nimrud by the Islamic State in Iraq.

42. Many scholars have countered the so-called benefits of developmental urbanization by exposing the human and environmental costs, including James Scott, Neil Smith, Sanjoy Chakravorty, Fred Pearce, Michael Hudson, Mike Davis, David Harvey, and Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz to name only a few. My own collection of recent reports on displacement for growth numbers in the hundreds, see, for example, Jamie Smyth. "Aboriginal Villages in Australia under Threat." *Financial Times*, December 26, 2014. <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/f12f376c-81ba-11e4-b9d0-00144feabdc0.html#axzz3N1LXh1oe>.





# Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

---

# Contributors

**Veronica E. Aplenc** holds a hybrid position in the teaching, learning, and leadership division where she teaches in the master's program and manages the In/formal Internship Program in the Graduate School of Education at the University of Pennsylvania. She received her PhD and MA in folklore from the University of Pennsylvania. She has developed and taught courses on qualitative modes of inquiry, the historic built environment, the politics of culture, folklore, and the history of socialism. Her research work has been supported by the IREX Public Policy grant and a Fulbright grant. Aplenc works on urban history, memorials and historic sites, vernacular architecture, folklore, and ethnology, in the former Yugoslavia. Her research interests include urban history, memorials, and folklore education in Southeastern and Central Europe.

**Markéta Březovská** is an architect, urbanist, lecturer, and writer, from the Czech Republic. She has obtained Bc., Ing. Arch. and PhD in Architecture and Urban Planning from Brno, Czech Republic, and masters in Architecture with major in geography, landscapes, and cities from Vienna, Austria. Dr. Březovská is Assistant Professor at Karlsruhe Institute of Technology (KIT) and has been involved in teaching urban design studios in transnational contexts, modern history, and theory of urbanism at KIT and Brno University of Technology. Her activities today range from small-scale design interventions to research on tendencies of socioeconomic urban transformations in the wider context of the globalized world, sociological aspects of production of space; working environments; image, identity, heritage, branding, lifestyle; exclusion, just space; postindustrialism, post-Fordism, postcolonialism, and New Towns. She is also writing a book *Contesting Space: Architecture as a Social Practice*, and curating an exhibition on Baťa Cities in the Brno House of Arts. I am indebted to a number of people for assistance in carrying out this research: academics, librarians, archivists, architects, and my colleagues from the Bauhaus Kolleg XII (2010–2011) lead by Regina Bittner. The text is based on my findings in the Baťa archives in Zlín, Möhlin, Brno, and East Tilbury; during my three field trips to India (2011, 2012, 2013–14, assisted by Nouman Malik); on the Kolleg's research and discussions resulting into four exhibitions coorganized by the Bauhaus Dessau Foundation; and on my

unpublished PhD thesis: “Model replaces model: Transformation of Bata’s industrial town Batanagar in India.”

**Hilary Bryon** received her PhD from the University of Pennsylvania, as well as an Masters in Architecture from Virginia Tech and a BA from the University of Virginia. She is Assistant Professor in the School of Architecture and Design at Virginia Polytechnical Institute and State University. Her recent publications include “The worm’s eye as a measure of man: Choisy’s development of axonometry in architectural representation” in *Scale: Imagination, Perception, and Practice in Architecture* (2012), and “Revolutions in space: parallel projections in the early modern era,” in *Architectural Research Quarterly* (2008). Her research explores the approaches and applications of parallel projection as an architectural form of representation.

**Robert Cowherd** is a 2014-2015 Fulbright Scholar pursuing research on the role of design in the social transformations of Latin American cities and Associate Professor of Architecture at Wentworth Institute of Technology. He is a board member of the Global Architectural History Teaching Collaborative and the author of “Cultural Construction of Surakarta,” in *The Emerging Asian City*, Vinayak Bharne, ed. (2012). He holds a PhD in the History and Theory of Architecture, and an Urban Design Certificate from MIT, and a B. Arch from the Cooper Union. His research focuses on the history and theory of architecture and urbanism in Southeast Asia and Latin America and is informed by extensive fieldwork in the developing world including work in post-tsunami Aceh where his open-source model for village mapping and planning was widely applied.

**James William Goodwin Junior.** graduated from the Federal University of Juiz de Fora (UFJF), and received his master’s degree from the Federal University of Minas Gerais (UFMG) in Belo Horizonte. He has a doctoral degree in Social History from the University of São Paulo (USP). Goodwin is a tenured professor of history at the Technological Education Federal Center of Minas Gerais (CEFET-MG), where he is also the director of Technological and Professional Education for its eleven campuses in nine cities. His research explores the relationship between the press and ideologies of progress focusing on urbanization projects, political stands, and popular behavior in the period between 1880 and 1930, spanning the final period of the Monarchy and the early Republic in the region of Minas Gerais, Brazil.

**Patrick Haughey** received his PhD in the History, Theory, and Criticism of Architecture from Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He received bachelor’s degree in Science in Landscape Architecture from the University of California, and a master’s in Architecture from the University of Washington.

He is Professor of Architectural History at Savannah College of Art and Design. He is coauthor of Robin Williams, ed. *The Architecture of Savannah: Society of Architectural Historians Buildings of the United States* (University of Virginia Press, 2016). He was the codirector of the 2013 Eighth Savannah Symposium, “Modernities Across Time and Space” and the codirector of the 2015 Ninth Savannah Symposium, “The Architecture of Trade.” He is currently a member of the Global Architecture History and Teaching Collaborative funded by the Andrew Mellon Foundation and Massachusetts Institute of Technology. His recent publications include “The Aesthetics of Negligence: Architecture in the Age of Inequality,” in Fisher and Yusuf, eds. *Dialectics* (2014), and “Leveraged Urbanism: An Introduction to the Aesthetics of Finance,” in *Manifest* v.1 (2013). His research uses a multidisciplinary approach to architecture history, deploying world systems, economics, and cultural geography, to study how power and finance influence architecture over time.

**Matthew Heins** is a research scholar in the Planning and Architecture Research Group at the University of Michigan. His research focuses spatial ordering, abstraction and standardization, particularly within in the context of infrastructure and urban design. Heins published “The Public Realm for the Traditional American City” for the University of Michigan’s *Agora Planning Journal* in 2013. He also presented “The Quiet Revolution of the Shipping Container” at the 2012 Design-History-Revolution Conference in New York City. He is currently Lecturer in Architecture History at Northeastern University.

**Barbara Jaffee** is Associate Professor of Art History, Modern Art, and Critical Theory at Northeastern Illinois University. Professor Jaffee’s research interests focus on the critical discourse and institutional framework within which modern art developed, particularly in the United States. Her work includes systemic analysis of art worlds, the dynamic of self-promotion within artists’ groups, emergence of artistic canons, and the relationship between modern art and industrialism. Her forthcoming book, *Diagrammatics: Industrialism and the Modernizing of American Art*, documents the use of diagrams in art pedagogy in the United States, a topic that provides not only a framework for understanding the popularization and diffusion of modernist aesthetics, but also an opportunity to investigate the origins and early development of modern forms of painting. Professor Jaffee has received fellowships from the University of Chicago, the US Department of Education, and the American Council of Learned Societies.

**Fabiola López-Durán** earned her PhD in History, Theory, and Criticism of Architecture and Art from Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Prior to joining the Rice University Faculty as Assistant Professor of Art History, she was the 2009–2011 Mellon Postdoctoral Fellow in the Humanities at the

Department of History of Art at University of California, Berkeley. Her awards include fellowships from the Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation, Daedalus Foundation, CLIR, Harvard Center for European Studies, Camargo Foundation, Samuel H. Kress Foundation, and the Fulbright Program. Her work has been published in Europe, Asia, South America, and the United States. Fabiola López-Durán's research and teaching focuses on the history and theory of modern and contemporary European and Latin American art and architecture. Her forthcoming book, *Eugenics in the Garden: Architecture, Medicine and Landscape from France to Latin America in the Early Twentieth Century*, investigates a particular strain of eugenics that, at the turn of the twentieth century, moved from the realms of medicine and law to design, architecture, and urban planning.

**Lucy Maulsby** received her bachelor's degree in Art History from Smith College, her M.Phil. in the History and Theory of Architecture from Cambridge University in England, before earning her PhD at Columbia University. Her scholarship focuses on the relationship between architecture, urbanism, and politics, with a particular emphasis on architecture in modern Italy. Dr. Maulsby's research on the public architecture of Milan from 1922 to 1943 was funded by a Columbia University Faculty Fellowship, a Wollemburg Fellowship, and a Whiting Fellowship. She has presented papers on topics related to her dissertation at national conferences and organized a symposium on interwar Italian urbanism at Columbia University (April 2007). Maulsby is currently working on a manuscript exploring Milan's urban and architectural transformation in the Fascist period and on a guidebook to modern architecture for which the Graham Foundation provided research support. She is Assistant Professor of Architectural History at Northeastern University.

**Nikki Moore** is a PhD Candidate in the Department of Art History at Rice University. She completed her S.M. Arch. S in History, Theory, and Criticism of Art and Architecture at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 2005. Her research focuses on the industrialization of food-based commodities and concurrent development practices in modern Latin America, paying particular attention to their symbiotic relationship to art and architectural practices. She is a member of the "Aggregate Systems and the South" project, and her work has been published in Europe and the United States.

**Lynda Mulvin** is Professor at the University College, Dublin. She earned her postgraduate from Katholieke Universitat Leuven, Belgium, where she was awarded La Plus Grande Distinction for her masters of Architecture Science in Conservation. She returned to the School of Classics at Trinity College in Dublin to complete PhD on the architecture of the late Roman villa in the Danube-Balkan region. Her thesis was published in 2002 as a research

monograph. She is an active member of ICOMOS and IPCRA, and works to solve practical conservation problems relating to stone decay on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century buildings in Dublin. She has recently been appointed as Assessor to the Australian Research Council. Dr. Mulvin is currently developing a joint research project on Franciscan architecture, together with Gosia D'Aughton at UCC and Edel Bhreathnach of the Discovery Programme.

**Mira Rai Waits** earned her PhD in History of Art and Architecture from the University of California, Santa Barbara, in 2015, where she wrote her dissertation, "The Spatial Economy of British Colonial Penology in Bengal, 1858–1911." She earned her MA from the University of California, Santa Barbara, in 2009. Her master's thesis examined fingerprinting and photography in nineteenth-century India. In 2008 she interned with both the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (LACMA) and the Hammer Museum at the University of California, Los Angeles. She was the editorial assistant for the *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, a Research Fellow at the Interdisciplinary Humanities Center at the University of California, and a Postdoctoral Fellow in Residence at the Mahindra Humanities Center, Harvard University. She is currently Assistant Professor of Art History at Appalachian State University.

**Mark V. Wetherington** is Assistant Professor of History at the University of Louisville. He served as director of the East Tennessee Historical Society, the South Carolina Historical Society in Charleston, and presently is director of the Filson Historical Society in Louisville, Kentucky. His research focuses on the history and culture of Kentucky, the Ohio River Valley, as well as on the Midwest and the South. His first book, *The New South Comes to Wiregrass Georgia, 1860–1910* (1994), won the American Historical Association's Herbert Feis Award in 1995. His second book *Plain Folk's Fight: The Civil War and Reconstruction in Piney Woods Georgia* appeared in 2005. He has written numerous articles including an essay for *Bluegrass Renaissance: The History and Culture of Central Kentucky, 1792–1852* (2012). He received his PhD in History from the University of Tennessee in 1985. Dr. Wetherington has been an advocate, for more than thirty years, for the collection and preservation of documents and films, as well as the importance of history education.

**Shundana Yusuf** is Associate Professor of Architecture at the University of Utah. She received her PhD in Architectural History and Theory from Princeton University and her S.M. Arch S. in History, Theory, and Criticism of Art and Architecture from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology with a bachelor's degree in Architectural Design from the National College of Arts, Lahore. Dr. Yusuf has previously taught at Pratt Institute, Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, and Peshawar University. Her research interests include world history of architecture, media studies in architecture across space and time,

sound studies, architecture and planning in the age of advanced globalization, and imperial history from early colonialism to late globalization. Her first book, *Broadcasting Buildings: Architecture on the Wireless, 1927–1945* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press 2014), is the first detailed exploration of architecture in the age of wireless listening. Her latest book, *Sufi Shrines in the Age of Hyperconnectivity, 1800–2015* (2016) investigates the combination of forces—modern governance, religious intolerance, terrorism, museumification, commercialization, globalization, and identity politics—that has contributed to the transformation of the architectural and spatial organization of these sites.

---

# Index

- 1873 Weltausstellung (World's Fair),  
Vienna 38  
1929 Preanger Hotel 4
- A Global Architecture 253  
Achaemenid Empire xvi  
Adorno, Theodor 23  
Aegean World xvii  
Africa xix  
Agache, Alfred 166  
Agia Sophia, Thessaloniki 110  
Agra 51  
Alan Wagstaff and "Three Springs"  
model 12  
Alcazar xx, xxi  
Alexander the Great xvii  
Alexander, Christopher 202  
Alfonso VII xx  
Alipore Central Jail 31, 32  
Allen, Howard 254  
Alsóhétenypusztá villa 241  
Altahama River 125, 127  
American System 195  
Amritsar Massacre xiii  
Amsterdam School 3  
Ancient 254  
Angelini, Gianni  
Angola xix  
anthropocene xxi, 277–278  
Antiaircraft Militia 182  
Arhitekt 210  
Art Deco 4  
Art through the Ages 254, 257  
Arts and Crafts 3, 8  
Asoka xvi  
Astengo, Giovanni 187  
atap gantung 6  
Atlanta 269  
aula 238, 239, 240, 246  
Austrian-Hungarian Empire 47, 51, 220  
AutoCAD 13  
axonometry 108
- Bacciocchi, Mario 180  
Baghulpore 27  
Ballet Russe 258  
bamboo 8,  
Bandoeng Technische Hoogschool  
(B.I.T) 7, 8  
Bandung, Java 1, 3, 4  
Banfi, Gian Luigi 178  
Bangalore Woolen Cotton and  
Silk Mills 37  
Bangladesh 278  
Bangsal Kanijana Djogjakarta,  
Jogjakarta 6  
Bangsal Witana Solo, Surakarta 6  
Banham, Reynier 81, 100  
Baraca Group 178  
Baroque xv, xix, 144, 146  
Bartram, Richard 125  
Bartram, William 140  
Bat'a Company towns 48  
Bat'a Corporation 50  
Bat'a Shoe Company 47  
Bat'a, Jon Antonin 52  
Baťa, Tomáš Baťa 47, 51, 52  
Batangar 47, 49, 51–71  
Batangar News 54, 57  
Batavia 2  
Batchelder, Ernest 255  
Batism 54  
Bauhaus xi, 221  
Belgian Congo xii  
Belgiojoso, Ludovico 178  
Belgrade 210, 224



- Bellows, George 261  
 Belo Horizonte 145, 148, 154  
 Bengal 25, 26, 32, 49, 50, 52, 58  
 Beniger, James 195  
 Benjamin, Walter 84, 85, 91  
 Bentham, Jeremy xii  
 Bentinick, William 28  
 Benton, Thomas Hart 258, 262  
 Berber xx  
 Berhampore 26  
 Berlage, Hendrik Petrus 2, 8  
 Berlin 199  
 Berman, Marshall 149  
 Betjeman, John 87, 100  
 Bhagulpore Central Jail, Bihar 20, 21, 33, 37, 40  
 Bichat, Xavier 161  
 Bihar 33–35  
 Blackburn, William 30  
 Blackshear, Kathleen 254  
 Blau, Eve 209, 224  
 Blenheim Palace 79, 81, 98  
 Blombos Cave, South Africa 282  
 Bloomfield, Reginald 100  
 Bluff Drive 271  
 Bologna 178  
 Boorstin, Daniel 138  
 Borobudur 3, 5  
 Boston 199  
 Boumphrey, Geoffrey 87  
 Bourdieu, Pierre 276  
 Boyer, Christine Dreaming the Rational City 194, 196  
 Brasilia 167  
 Braude, Ferdinand I ix  
 Brazil xv, 143, 165  
 British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) 79–  
 British colonialism, 19, 80  
 British East India Company 23, 24, 50  
 British neoclassical architecture 81  
 British Raj 20, 31, 40  
 Brooks Classical School 256  
 Bruegel, Pieter the Elder “The Wedding Dace” 261  
 Bryon, Robert 100  
 Buddha, Buddhist 3  
 Budge Budge Road 52, 65  
 Butterfield, William 81  
 Buxar Central Jail 35  
 Byzantine art 239  
 Calcutta 25, 49, 51, 52, 56, 61, 63  
 Calcutta Riverside 50, 63–67  
 Calderara, Giuseppe 182  
 Caliph xx  
 Cananazares-Esguerra, Jorge x  
 Canguilhem, George 162  
 Carpenter, Mary 31, 32  
 Carrel Foundation 169  
 Carrel, Alex 165  
 Casa del Fascio 175  
 Castle Abbey 81  
 Catholic 146  
 Cercadilla 241  
 Chakraborty, Dipesh 24  
 Chandigargh xiii  
 chappals (slippers) 58  
 Chattahooche River 124, 139  
 Chaudhuri, K.N x  
 Cheney, Sheldon 261  
 Chicago School economics 276  
 Chicago Tribune 257  
 China xix  
 Choisy, August Histoire de l'architecture 107, 111  
 Choisy, August, L'art de bâtir chez les Romains  
 Christian art 239  
 Christianity 234  
 Chrysler Building 200  
 Chupra Jail 26  
 Cimitile, Naples 247  
 City of Tomorrow 161  
 Civil War 126, 130, 135, 272, 273  
 Classical xviii  
 Cold War 264  
 Cole, Thomas 140  
 colonial space xxi  
 colonial, colonialism xv, 47, 278, 280  
 Columbian Exchange 278  
 Columbus xxi  
 Commissioners Plan 1811 198  
 Committee to Frame a World Constitution 260  
 communism xvi  
 Companies Act 1913 52  
 Condoover Hall 81, 98  
 Congres d'International Moderne xiii  
 convivium 236, 237  
 Constantinople xxi  
 Cordova xx, xxi  
 Cornaggia, Marquis Alfonso

- Costa, Luis 167
- cotton 135–137, 140, 270
- Courtland Institute 90, 100
- Cowherd, Robert 279, 281
- Creek Indians 274
- Crespi Group 182
- Crosby, Sumner McKay 254, 262
- cultuurstelsel 2
- Czech Republic 47
  
- Danieri, Carlo 175
- Darien, Georgia 127, 129
- darogah 25
- Darwin, Charles 159, 163
- Dawson, Manierre 262
- Dawson, Thomas 123, 140
- de Andrade, Carlos Drummond 148
- Decaenneacubita 241
- Dekker, Eduard Douwes 2
- Delfino, Aldo 155
- Department of Archaeological  
Survey 38
- Dermée, Paul 161
- Derrida, Jacques 84, 85
- Desenzano-del-Garda 240
- Diamantina 145–146, 148
- diamond 145
- Dieng 3
- Dionysus 238, 239
- diwani 25
- Djawa journal 5, 6
- Dodge Company 126–129, 133–
- Dodge, Anson Jr. 125
- Dodge, Anson Sr. 126, 128, 133
- Dodge, Norman 132–133
- Dodge, William E 123, 128, 132
- Dum Dum Central Jail 35
- dumbell tenement 199
- Dutch Colonial Health Service 4
- Dutch East Indies 1
- Dutch Ethical Policy 1, 7
  
- Eastman, Georgia 130, 131, 138
- Eastman, William Pitt 129, 132
- Ecija, Cordoba 240
- Ecole Polytechnique xiv, 109
- Eggers, George Williams 255
- Egypt xviii
- Eisenstein, Elizabeth 92
- Eisenstein, Sergei 117
- Empire State Building 200
  
- Enlightenment 196
- Eritrea xvi
- Esplanado do Castelo 163
- Ethiopia xvi, 184
- Eurocentric 264
- evolutionist 264
  
- fauduri jails 25
- First World War 80
- Florence xix
- Ford, George 199
- Ford, Henry 54, 195
- Fordism 48, 60
- Forestier, Jean-Nicolas 163
- Foro Mussolini 177
- Foucault, Michel Discipline and Punish  
194, 196
- Foucault, Michel xii, 194, 196
- Fourth Congress of Popular Arts and  
Traditions 188
- Francis Xavier xix
- Frankfurt 199
- French Foundation for Human  
Research 168
- French Revolution 196
  
- Gagnes 52, 54
- Gahura, František Lydia 52
- Gardner, Helen 254–265
- Gardner's Art though the Ages 254
- Garnier, Tony Cité Industrielle 199
- General Oglethorpe, James 271
- General Urban Plan of Development for  
Ljubljana 208, 213
- Genoa xix, 176
- genocide 278
- Georgia Land and Lumber Company  
127, 131
- Germany 199
- Ghirardo, Diane 184
- Gidwani, Vinay 22
- Gioventù Italiana del Littorio 182
- globalism 262
- Goa, India xv, xix
- gold 144
- Goodhart-Rendet, H.S. 100
- Gothic 115, 116
- Gothic xxi, 8
- Gournerie, Jules 109
- Gradaščica stream 211, 212, 217, 222
- Gramsci, Antonio 149

- Great Canoptic pool 237  
 Great Mosque of Cordoba xx  
 Great Palace of Constantinople 241  
 Great Pyramid of Djoser 279  
 Greater Sunda Tradition 4, 5, 7  
 Green School, Abiansemai, Bali 12  
 Griselda Tower xxi  
 Gropius, Walter 279  
 Grosium, Pannonia 244  
 Guale 274  
 Gurgaon 58
- H.V. Morton, *In Search of England* (1927) 87  
 Habsburg Empire 212  
 Hadrian's Villa 237  
 Hagia Sophia, Istanbul 112, 114  
 hajuts 25  
 Han Dynasty xvi  
 Hardy, Jon and Cynthia 12  
 Haripur 35  
 Harper, William Rainey 256  
 Harvard University 256  
 Haughton Hall 81  
 Haute Garonne 241  
 Hazrigbagh Penitentiary 35  
 Hegel, G.W.F. 85, 253  
 Heidegger 85  
 Henri, Robert 261  
 Hercules 238  
 Herder, Johann Gottfried 260  
 Hiland Group 64, 65, 67  
 Hindu 3  
 Hiroshima 259  
 Hispaniola 274  
 Holme Lacy 81  
 Holocene 278  
 home-ownership 275  
 Homer, Winslow 140  
 Hooghly, 52, 63  
 Horkheimer, Max 23  
 Horse Creek Railroad 129  
 Howett, William, *Visits to Remarkable Places* 93  
 Huangou, Alfred xxi  
 Huguenots 275  
 Hull, Matthew *Government of Paper* 196
- Iberia xx  
 Imhotep 279
- Imperial palace of Galerius, Gamzigrad 239  
 India xix, 19, 22, 23, 28–31, 37, 38, 40, 50, 51, 56, 58, 59  
 Indian Heritage 68  
 indigo 270  
 Indische Architectuur 1, 2, 3  
 Indo-European mestizo 7  
 industrial revolution 52  
 industrialization xiv, 280  
 International Exhibition of Modern Industrial and Decorative Arts 161, 163  
 internationalism xvi, 265  
 Islam xix  
 Islamabad 196  
 Isle of Hope 271, 274, 276  
 isolationist 259
- James-Chakraborty, Kathleen xxi  
 Jane Jacobs 201, 202  
 Jarzombek, Mark xxi, 253, 254, 265, 282  
 Javanese classical gamelan orchestra 5  
 Javanese wood framed buildings 2  
 Jeanneret, Charles-Edouard 161  
 Jesuit xix  
 Jiuz de Fora 145, 146  
 Juiz de Fora 146
- kampung 2, 10  
 Kangjeng Ratu Kidul 11  
 Kanna, Uday 58  
 Karachi Jail 38  
 Karaman, Ljubo 209  
 karaton complex 11  
 Karsten, Thomas 10  
 Kawruh Kalang 11  
 Kentchurch Court 81  
 Kerf-cut bamboo curved beams 14  
 Kingdom of the Serbs 212  
 Klotkin, Joel 277  
 Knossos xviii  
 Koolhaas, Rem 202, 279  
 Krakovo 219  
 Krichy, Freda 259  
 kurtas (shirts) 34  
 Kusno Abidin 8  
 kutcha (mud bricks) 25
- L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui 179  
 La Florida 274  
 La Maison des hommes 159

## Index

---

- Lahore 51  
laissez faire capitalism 126, 197  
Lamarck, Jean Baptiste 159, 163  
Lamarckian eugenics 159  
Lambert, Richard 88  
Law on Regional Planning 211  
Law on Urban Planning 211  
Le Corbusier xi, xiii, xv, 67, 82, 112, 159–169, 221, 279  
L'Esprit Nouveau 112, 161, 163  
Lewis, Simon 278, 281  
libertarian 275  
Libya xvi  
Ligorio, Pirro 242  
Lisbon xix, xxi  
Littleote, Wiltshire 240  
Liverpool 270  
Ljubljana 210, 211-  
Ljubljana Marsh 215  
Ljubljana Urban Institute 216  
Ljubljana River 211, 222  
longleaf 124–126  
Loos, Adolf 161  
Los Angeles 199  
Lumber City, Georgia 127  
  
Macau xix  
Mademoiselle Carioca 166  
Madras Presidency 37  
Magellan xxi  
Mahabarata and Ramayana literature  
Mahratta Fort 25  
main assembly halls (aula) i7  
Maison de Bachhus, Cuiul, North Africa 241  
Maison des Hommes 168  
Manchester 270  
Mann, Michael 194  
Maratta, Hardesty 262  
Martel, Jan & Joël 163  
martyria 246, 249  
Marx, Karl 21  
Maslin, Mark 278, 281  
mausolea 249  
Mayan 4  
Mayan-European fusion 8  
McAlprin Plantation 271  
McLuhan, Marshall 85  
Meccoli, Giuseppe 187  
Medici xix  
Medieval 254  
  
Meigs, Ferris 140  
Melossi, Dario 23  
Merimée, Prosper 117  
Mesembria, Bulgaria 247  
Mesopotamia xviii  
Meyer, M.H. and C.Th. 108, 109  
Mezzina, Sergio 185  
Michie and Company 38  
Midland Houses 79, 81, 84  
Midnapore Jail 25, 35  
Milan 176–77  
Mildenhall plate 238  
Mill, John Stuart 22  
Minangkabau tradition 8  
Minas Gerais, Brazil, 143–145  
Mitchell, Timothy 196  
Modern 254  
modernism xv, xvi, 257  
modernus 235  
Modular 159, 169  
modus 235  
Montage 116  
Montmaurin 241  
Morris, William 87  
mortgage 275  
muchis 50  
Mudie, Rutherford F. 40  
Mughal 25  
Muir, John 140  
Mumbai 51  
Mucoat, Frederic John 29, 32  
Museum of Modern Art xvi  
Muslim conquest xx  
Mussilin xvi  
Mussolini Group 178, 180  
Mussolini, Benito 175  
Muthesius, Hermann 161  
Mutlan 35  
  
Nagasaki 259  
Nangi 59  
Nash, John Regents Park 83  
Nasik Road, Bombay 35  
National Fascist Party 175  
nationalism xviii  
nationalists 260, 264  
Nazi 159, 175  
Nehru, Jawaharlal 51  
neoconservative 275  
New Preservationists 87  
New School for Social Research 258

- New Urbanism 202  
 New York Chamber of Commerce 123  
 New York City 199, 265  
 Newstead 81  
 Newstead Abbey 91, 92, 94  
 Noble Jones 271  
 Northwest Ordinances 198  
 Norton, John Chicago Daily News Building 258  
 Notre-Dame, Poitiers 115  
 Nottinghamshire 81  
 nuclear weapons 259  
  
 Ocmulgee River 123, 127, 129  
 Oconee River 123, 127  
 oecus 237  
 Offner, Richard 256  
 Ohrid, Macedonia 246  
 O'Keefe, Georgia 262  
 Ong, Walter 85  
 Onians, John 254  
 onuitsprekelijke 3  
 Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro 182  
 Orpheus 238  
 Otrocovice, Czechoslovakia 52  
 Ozenfont, Amédée 161  
  
 Pak Asmo, master builder-preist architect 11  
 Pak Wayan 13, 15  
 Palace of Antiochus and Lausus, Constantinople 241  
 Palace of Constantine, Mediana 239  
 Palace of Dux, Apollonia 240  
 Palace of Galerius, Gamzigrad 246  
 Pangung Sangga Buwana Tower 7  
 Panopticon xii  
 Pantheon, Rome 114  
 Papal Rome xix  
 parasitic capital 22  
 Paravani, Massimo 23  
 Parc de la Villette 202  
 Parisian Musée Social 163  
 Parker Plantation 271  
 parallel projection 108, 110  
 Parry, Milman 84  
 Parthenon, Athens 115  
 Pena, Alfonso 148  
 Peressutti, Enrico 178  
 Persepolis xviii  
 Pétain, Maréchal Philippe 161  
  
 Petrópolis 146  
 Pevsner, Nikolaus 81  
 Pfisterer, Ulrich 260  
 Philadelphia Exhibition of 1876 154  
 phrenology 5  
 Piazza Armerina, Sicily 240  
 Piazza del Doumo 180  
 Piggly Wiggly 274  
 Pinus Palustris 125  
 Plan Zuid 3  
 Plato 85  
 Plečnik, Jože 211, 212, 217, 218, 220–223,  
 Pliny the Younger 236  
 Pllock, Jackson Number 29 263  
 Plymouth Rebuilding Plan 83  
 Pneglipuran village 15  
 poché 113  
 Pont, Henri Maclaine 3  
 Porta Nuova Station 180  
 Portaluppi, Piero 182  
 Portugal xix, xx  
 Portuguese Empire 145  
 postmodernist xix  
 Potosi 144  
 Prague 51  
 Prambanan 3, 5  
 Précisions 168  
 Prešeren, France 211  
 Price, Eugenia 125  
 Prim 246  
 Primbon 11  
 primitivizing 258  
 PT Bambu 13, 14, 15  
 Public Assistance Agency (Ente Opere Assistenziali) 182  
 Public Works Department 29  
 Puccioni, Fernando 185  
 pucka (fired bricks) 25, 29, 34  
 Punjabi Muslims 50  
 Pyramid xviii  
  
 Quadrant 180  
 quibla wall xx  
  
 racism 275  
 railroad time 195  
 Raphael School of Athens 263  
 Ravnikar, Edvard 222  
 Ray, Gordon M. 40  
 Reformation xix

## Index

---

- refrigerium 241, 242  
relativist 264  
Renaissance xix, 254, 259  
Renaissance Society 256  
Report on the Committee of Prison  
    Discipline 28  
Republican 275  
Retrofitting Suburbia 203  
Revel, Keith Building Gotham 197  
Revocation of the Edict of Nantes 275  
rice 270  
Riegl, Alois Late Roman Art Industry  
    260  
Rieth, John 86  
Rio de Janiero 143, 145, 165  
Riverbank Develpro Private  
    Limited 59  
Rjashaye Central Jail 35  
Rogers, Ernesto 178  
Roman Britain 240  
Roman Empire xvii, 233  
Roman Republic xvi  
Romanesque 115, 119  
Rome 178  
Roosevelt, Franklin D. 259  
Rossi, Aldo 202  
Rowe, Colin 202  
Royal Palace Karaton Surakarta 6  
Rožnik hill 215  
Rusafah, Syria 246  
Rushton Hall 81, 95  
  
Saint-Savin-sur-Gartempe 116, 117, 118  
sambatan 10  
San Calixto, Rome 242  
Sandfly 272, 273  
Sant' Apollinare, Ravenna 243  
Sao Paulo 144  
Sargent, Walter 256  
Savannah 269  
Savannah College of Art and Design 269  
Savannah Grey bricks 271  
Savannah Plan 271  
Savannah River 269, 272, 274, 275  
Schmarsow, August 260  
School of the Art Institute, Chicago 254,  
    255  
Scott, James, Seeing Like a State 193  
Sears Roebuck and Co. 139  
Sede Federale 182  
Selucia Piera 246  
  
Semper, Gottfried 3  
Sephardic Jews xxi  
Sepoy Rebellion 28–29  
Seville Cathedral xxi  
Seville xx  
Shoemaker, C.P Wolff 3  
Sidonius Apollinaris 238  
Sitenza 210  
Sixtus V xix  
slavery 127, 143, 144, 146, 270, 272  
slavery xv  
slaves 270, 272  
Slovenia xvi, 207, 210, 220, 221  
slums 144  
Snouk Hurgronje's Associatnist  
    Theory 2  
Soan Museum 82  
Socialism 48  
Society of Architecture Historians 277  
South Georgia Exposition 139  
Soviet Union 208  
Spain xix  
Spencer, Herbert  
spolia xx  
Springer, Simon ix, 276  
St. John the Baptist Bridge 222  
St. Simon's Island 125, 127, 129  
Stalin 210  
Starace, Achille 175  
Stevens, Martel 163  
stibades 238  
stibadium 233, 234, 236–250  
Stonehenge xviii  
suburbanization 275  
Summers, David 254  
Summerson, Sir John 79–  
  
Tagore, Rabindranath, 51  
Talmadge Memorial Bridge 273  
Taylorism 195, 198  
Technical University of Delft  
Tenement House Acts 199  
Tenochtitlan xix  
Terragni, Giuseppe 175  
textile manufacturing 270  
The Decorative Art of Today 161  
The Ljubljana Urban Institute 213  
Tito, Joseph Broz 210, 214  
Todorova, Maria 209  
Toledo xx  
Tomis, Romaina 239

- topio 244  
Towards a New Architecture 161  
Tressham, Sir Thomas 96  
triclinum 236  
triconch 233, 234, 236  
Trnovo 207, 208, 211, 216, 217,  
220–224  
Trnovo Church 217  
  
United Nations 278  
University of Chicago 256  
universalism 264  
US Congress 275  
  
Vargas, Getulio 167  
Varisco, Tito 182  
Venice xix  
Venturi, Robert 279  
Vergilius Romanus 239  
Vernacular xvi  
verstyfoen dakrand 6  
Vichy Regime 159, 167–168  
Vienna 220, 224  
Villa of the Falconer 238  
Village of Euclid v. Ambler Realty Co.  
201  
Vitruvius 236  
Vrhovnik, Jan The Trnovo Parish in  
Ljubljana 219  
Vurnik, Ivan 222  
  
Wagner, Otto 220  
Warburg Institute 90, 100  
Warwickshire 81, 97  
Washington, D.C. 199  
Wayang shadow theater 5  
Weber, Max 195  
Weichard van Valvasor, Johann 212,  
218  
Weisbach, Julius 108  
Willkie, Wendell 259  
Winckelmann, Johann 253  
Winston Churchill 81, 82  
Wirth, John 144  
Wittkower, Rudolph 100  
Wolfe, Joel 148  
Wölfflin, Heinrich  
Woods, John 83  
World War I  
World War II 259  
worm's eye view 108, 110, 116  
Wormsloe Plantation 271  
Wright, Frank Lloyd 3, 4  
  
Yugoslavia 207  
  
Zagreb 224  
Zlín 47, 48, 51, 54, 55, 56  
zoning 193, 197–203  
Zug, George 256  
Zukin, Sharon 52